

Race Problem in 1922

United States

OVER TWO MILLION NEGRO PUPILS IN SOUTH'S SCHOOLS

Over 100,000 of Them Are Enrolled in the Negro Normal Schools and Colleges There.

FIFTY DEVOTED TO HIGHER AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

Howard University and Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes Especially Notable.

Lester A. Walton, one of the leading Negro newspaper men of this country, has written a series of five articles for The World on the status of the colored man in the South, with special reference to the effect of his participation in the World War on his condition. The World publishes the fifth article to-day.

Mr. Walton is a graduate of St. Louis schools, and has been until recently managing editor of the New York Age. He was a member of the Military Entertainment Service in the war. He accompanied Dr. R. R. Moton, Principal of Tuskegee Institute, on his mission to France to talk to Negro soldiers, and also reported the Peace Conference.

By Lester A. Walton.

More than 2,000,000 Negro children attended public schools in the South during the past scholastic year. Over 100,000 enrolled in Southern Negro normal schools and colleges.

Statistics furnished by the Department of Records and Research of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute summarize that in 1867 there were only 1,839 schools for freedmen, with 2,087 teachers, of whom 699 were

Negroes. There were 111,442 pupils. Of this number 18,758 were studying the alphabet, 55,163 were in the spelling and easy reading lesson classes, 42,879 were learning to write, 40,454 were studying arithmetic and 4,661 were studying the higher branches. In 1867 there were thirty-five industrial schools, with an enrolment of 2,124 students, who were taught sewing, knitting, straw braiding, repairing and making garments.

To-day there are in the South fifty colleges devoted to higher and secondary education of the Negro. There are seventeen institutions for the education of Negro women, thirty-five theological schools and departments, two law and two medical schools, two of pharmacy, seventeen State agricultural and mechanical colleges and 400 normal and industrial schools. In 1863 no such institutions existed in the South for the Negro.

Over \$21,000,000 was expended on public schools for Negroes and \$7,600,000 for higher and industrial training in 1922, compared to a few thousand dollars spent fifty years ago.

The value of property owned by institutions for secondary and higher training is over \$30,000,000. The value of property used in the education of freedmen fifty years ago was small.

Two and a half million dollars are raised yearly exclusively by Negroes for the support of their schools. Negro religious denominations are maintaining 175 colleges and industrial schools. From 1866 to 1870 it is estimated that freedmen contributed over \$700,000 for the support of teachers and toward the erection and upkeep of school buildings.

Until the recent consolidation of the Jeanes and Slater Funds, twelve funds gave financial aid to Negro schools and colleges, namely: The General Education Board, Carnegie Corporation, Phelps-Stokes Fund, Anna T. Jeanes Foundation, Julius Rosenwald Fund, the "African Third," Avery Fund, John F. Slater Fund, George Washington Educational Fund, Miner Fund, Daniel Hand Fund, Stewart Missionary Foundation for Africa.

The importance of educating the Negro in the South is fully realized by white educators of that section. The Southern University Race Commission, composed of representatives of State universities of eleven Southern States, some time ago sent an open letter to college men in the South as follows:

"The South cannot realize its destiny if one-third of her population is undeveloped and inefficient. For our common welfare we must strive to cure disease wherever we find it, strengthen the weak, and develop all that is undeveloped. The inadequate provision for the education of the Negro is more than an injustice to him; it is an injury to the white

man." At the eighteenth annual meeting of the National Association of Colored Schools a prominent white Southerner who has made the study of Negro education his life's work, said America should spend five times as much for education; that the masses cannot be educated by philanthropy but by public taxes. "County training schools for Negro students have increased from four in 1912 to 156 in 1922," he said.

"Salaries from the public fund for this work in 1912 amounted to \$3,444 and in 1922 to \$416,000. Of the \$1,407,000 spent in building Rosenwald schools, which are modern rural schools for Negroes, Julius Rosenwald gave \$293,000, other white people \$151,000, colored people \$403,000, and from public tax funds \$560,000."

"Too Great a Compliment." Of the \$1,288,000,000 spent annually for education little more than 2 per cent. is expended on the Negro, which, as Booker T. Washington used to say, "is too great a compliment to the natural intelligence of the colored child."

The South is spending \$6,000,000 annually for salaries of teachers in colored public schools, or one-fourth of the amount spent on teachers in white public schools. The per capita in some of the Southern States is \$10.32 for each white child and \$2.89 spent for each colored child.

Colored public schools are, as a whole, conducted on a lower standard than white public schools. The curriculum for white children quite often is higher than the curriculum for colored children of the same grade. Colored teachers receive less pay than white teachers for the same work. The assumption seems to prevail that the Negro teacher does not have to pay as much for clothes, foodstuffs and carfare as the white teacher.

In Birmingham, Ala., I found but one brick school building for Negro children. The high school, which in name and course of study is more of an industrial institution, consists of frame buildings. The sanitary conditions are poor. It would be extremely difficult for either a white or a colored child to become inspired with high ideals in such a depressing environment. Birmingham Negroes assert that promise was made them that better facilities could be provided if colored voters supported the new bond issue. However, since Election Day nothing has been done to ameliorate conditions.

As a direct contrast, one of the most modern and best equipped school houses for the Negroes in the South is in the little town of Statesville, N. C. It is a credit to both races and the community in general.

The Churches' Part In It. One of the pioneer agencies in an important part in furthering the work of Negro education in the South was the American Baptist Home Mission, which controls twenty-four schools valued at \$3,870,744. The mis-

sion is responsible for the existence of Morehouse College, Spelman Seminary, Shaw University, Benedict College and Virginia Union University. The Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, organized in 1866, controls eighteen Negro institutions in the South, which have a property value of over \$2,000,000, and a combined enrolment of 6,000 students.

The American Baptist Home Mission Society has been establishing schools for higher education since 1846, notable among them being Fisk University, Atlanta University, Talladega College, Straight University and Tougaloo College.

The Episcopal Board of Mission gives financial aid to twenty-four schools and appropriates \$50,000 annually for Negro education. The United Presbyterian Board owns and maintains fifteen schools for Negroes in the South, valued at \$455,600 in property, and has a total income of \$88,512 for current expenses. Various organizations of the Catholic

own and maintain 120-odd schools, houses in Louisiana, Alabama, Delaware, Mississippi, Georgia and Virginia. Within fifty years Negro church boards have acquired property valued at \$2,500,000, contributing \$400,000 yearly for current expenses.

Following are the leading colleges and chief source of their financial support: Howard University, Washington, D. C., Federal; Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., independent; Lincoln University, Chester, Pa., Presbyterian Church; Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., Baptist Church; Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga., independent; Virginia Union University, Richmond, Baptist Church; Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C., Baptist Church; Claflin College, Orangeburg, S. C., Methodist Church; Benedict College, Greensboro, N. C., Baptist Church; Talladega College, Alabama, Congregational Church; Tougaloo College, Mississippi, Congregational Church; Knoxville College, Tennessee, United Presbyterian Church; Bishop College, Texas, Baptist Church; Meharry Medical School, Atlanta, independent; Wilberforce University, Ohio, A. M. E. Church; Wiley College, Texas, Methodist Church; Morgan College, Baltimore, Methodist Church.

Institutions offering college subjects and their chief source of financial support are: Arkansas Baptist College, Baptist; Biddle University, Charlotte, N. C., Presbyterian Church; Clark University, Atlanta, Methodist Church; Lane College, Jackson, Tenn., C. M. E. Church; Livingstone College, Salisbury, N. C., A. M. E. Zion Church; Morris Brown University, Atlanta, A. M. E. Church; New Orleans College, Methodist Church; Payne College, Cuthbert, Ga., M. E. Church, South; Paul Quinn College, Texas, A. M. E. Church; Philander Smith College, Arkansas, Methodist Church; Rust College, Mississippi, Methodist Church; Sam Houston College, Texas, Methodist Church; Straight College, New Orleans, Congregational Church; T. Dotson College,

Texas, Congregational Church. There are fourteen land grant colleges in the South, representing an annual investment of nearly \$2,000,000. They are: Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College, Normal, Ala.; Branch Normal, Pine Bluff, Ark.; Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College, Tallahassee, Fla.; Georgia State Industrial College, Savannah, Ga.; Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute for Colored, Frankfort, Ky.; Southern University, Baten Rouge, La.; Princess Anne, Maryland; Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College, Alcorn, Miss.; Colored Agricultural and Normal University, Langston, Okla.; Colored Normal, Industrial and Mechanical College, Orangeburg, S. C.; Agricultural and State School, Nashville, Tenn.; Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College, Prairie View, Tex.; West Virginia Collegiate Institute Charleston, W. Va.

Howard and Fisk.

Howard University is of college grade, with professional and secondary departments. In variety and quality of professional training and in the number of college students, Howard stands first among educational institutions for Negroes. The university was founded in 1867 by an Act of Congress. Gen. O. O. Howard served as first President. The attendance is nearly 1,500. Teachers and workers total more than one hundred, chosen from both races. The plant is valued at between \$2,000,000 and \$3,000,000.

Fisk is another leading institution devoted to higher education. It is the alma mater of many leading Negroes who have distinguished themselves in various avenues of endeavor. Fisk was founded in 1865. The Negro youth is taught elementary, secondary, college and special courses. From 500 to 600 students are enrolled yearly. There is a preponderance of white teachers. Fisk has eleven buildings and well laid out grounds, valued at \$370,288. It has an endowment of more than \$150,000.

Meharry Medical College, Roanoke, Williams University, Walden College and the Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State Normal are also located in Nashville, referred to as the "Athens of the South."

Atlanta University.

Atlanta University, attended by between 500 and 600 young men and women, is conspicuous as a teachers' training school of secondary and college grade. The value of plant and endowment combined is put in excess of \$400,000. Another influential institution of secondary and college grade is Morehead College, where 300 young men attend. Gammon Theological Seminary, Morris Brown University and Spelman Seminary are contributing factors in making Atlanta an educational centre.

Two Negro women have attracted more than local attention as educators, namely, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, principal of the Daytona

Educational and Industrial School for very State in the Union, the West, Indies, Mexico, Central and South America and Africa attend. The principal of Haines Normal and Industrial Institute, Augusta, Ga. Both schools are well managed and a credit to the respective heads and their associates.

Hampton Institute.

Hampton Institute, the pioneer in advocacy of industrial training, has exercised a potent influence in winning the sympathetic co-operation of the South in Negro education. It was founded April 3, 1868 and under the direction of Gen. Samuel Chapman Armstrong leaped into prominence. From 1878 to 1911 the school received Federal appropriation for Indian education. There are still few Indians in the enrollment of 800 students. White and colored teachers and workers number more than two hundred.

Hampton has a plant valued at \$1,346,933, and an endowment of nearly \$3,000,000. It owns 1,160 acres of land, 67 acres of campus, 597 acres in the Shellbanks Farm, six miles from the school, and 35 acres in the Cope Farm at Waldorf, Va. Over 400 acres are under cultivation at Shellbanks Farm.

The campus at Hampton, with its beautiful trees and shubbery, artistically conceived walks and drives, is well worth seeing. Thirty main buildings and sixty-odd cottages on the campus are valued at nearly \$900,000. The buildings on the farm include a \$20,000 brick barn and an \$8,000 steel and glass greenhouse. Seventy-eight buildings were built by student labor under the direction of instructors; fifteen are of brick. Pupils are classified in the following groups: Work class, mechanical trades, agriculture, household arts, business and teacher training.

It was at Hampton Institute where Booker T. Washington, as a student, received valuable training and was inspired to go out into the world to win name and fame as one of the leading educators of his day.

Up to Date Tuskegee.

Last, but not least, is Tuskegee, best known of all Negro schools. Tuskegee is one of the show places of America, exciting the wonderment and admiration of the visitor. A visitor to the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in Macon County, Ala., is impressed by the magnitude of the plant, the size, beauty and design of the buildings, and the order and system prevailing at all times. From top to bottom Tuskegee is managed by Negroes. Booker T. Washington believed in the capabilities of his race, and invariably put this idea in concrete form. Some years before his death, when told there were no Negro engineers possessing sufficient technical knowledge to run the immense power plant just built, he searched the United States over and found colored men who could efficiently do the work.

Tuskegee is by no means provincial in the make-up of its student body. Young men and women from near

A "City Beautiful."

Elbert Hubbard, after a visit to Tuskegee, said: "Tuskegee stands for order, system, cleanliness, industry, courtesy and usefulness. There are no sinkholes around the place, no back yards. Everything is beautiful, wholesome and sanitary."

A white writer on a Southern daily a short time ago described Tuskegee as a "city beautiful" which shows that the Negro is capable of appreciating the aesthetic as well as the practical things of life.

Tuskegee enjoys worldwide fame as an exponent of the educational value of labor and the correlation of academic subjects with industrial training. The school was established by an act of the Alabama Legislature in 1880. The first session was held on July 4, 1881, in a rented shanty with thirty pupils and one teacher—Booker T. Washington, a former slave.

To-day the value of all property, real and personal, owned by the institution, including the endowment fund, is valued at more than \$4,000,000. The school owns 1,160 acres of land, 115 buildings, 485 head of live stock. The well kept campus consists of 108 acres. Besides the 2,110 acres of land in Macon County, of which 1,009 acres are under cultivation, the institute owns a large tract of mineral land, held as an endowment, in another part of the State.

The Principal's report for 1920-1921 showed the total enrollment for the regular courses to be 2,240—1,666 boys, 973 girls and 101 disabled soldiers taking vocational education.

Upon the Military Department of the school devolves the work of maintaining discipline and the morale of the school. Co-operation is given the Commandant and his staff by the ranking colored officer in the United States Army, a Lieutenant Colonel, who is stationed at the institute as professor of military service and tactics.

Pupils are classed into the following vocational groups: Work class, mechanical trade, agricultural, household arts, nurse training, Bible training and teacher training. The mechanical department alone embraces twenty-five distinct divisions, each giving a course of study covering from one to three years. They are accounting, bookkeeping, auto mechanics, architectural and mechanical drawing, blacksmithing, brickmaking, brick masonry, carpentry, carriage trimming, applied electricity, harness making, motor operation, machine shop practice, painting, printing, plumbing, photographic instruction, shoemaking, steam engineering, steamfitting, tailoring, tile setting, tin-smithing, wheelwrighting and woodturning.



"When You Stand With the Boss Some Morning When He Is Hiring Labor and You Hear a Negro Say: 'Mister Boss, I'll Take That Job for a Dollar and a Half a Day.' When the White Man Has Asked for \$3.00 a Day, You Are Face to Face With a Grave Phase of Our Race Problem."

CHICAGO ILL JOURNAL

SEPTEMBER 6, 1922

The Threat of Race Riots

The barely averted riot in Lincoln park shows again how thin is the dike that holds back another flooding rush of race antagonism, like that which disgraced the city a few years ago. A little bad manners in the beginning, then worse manners, shown in a vulgar retort to a civil request, then a fist fight, then knives, then a call for lynching. Only the prompt arrival and vigorous action of the park police kept that lynching from being carried into effect. With that as a start, heaven alone knows when and where the end would have come.

The courts must be left to deal with the actual misdemeanors and graver offenses committed on this occasion. But every thoughtful citizen of Chicago, white and colored, should

make it his or her business to promote interracial relations that will lessen the likelihood of such outbreaks.

So far in history, only three methods have been tried for settling the relations of two sharply marked races occupying or seeking to occupy the same region.

One is the simple method of extermination. The negro tribes invading South Africa evidently exterminated the Bushmen over wide areas, and drove the survivors into undesirable deserts. Leif Ericson, in the tenth century, found Eskimos on the coast of New England; some time between Ericson and Columbus, the Indians took possession. No such method of dealing with the race problem can be considered in our day for a moment.

Next is the method of amalgamation. In this way, northern invaders of southern Europe have been absorbed by the conquered populations, until, for example, only an occasional low-headed child remains to show that the Norsemen once ruled Sicily, Arabs and negroes have fused in northeast Africa on more even terms. But in America, though now and then a family with a trace of colored blood manages to "cross the line," amalgamation is so objectionable to the white race that it is quite out of the question.

Under the third method may be grouped all the various forms of subjection; the caste system of India—by the way, the word "caste" means color—the crude slavery which Lincoln abolished, the slightly less crude serfdom which such men as Vardaman would like to re-establish. All these systems, no matter how disguised, are repugnant to American institutions and must be ruled out.

Then what remains?

The difficult but absolutely necessary task of finding a new basis of co-operation, a new system of relations under which the two races can live together without fusion, without subjection, without occasional outbursts of the ancient impulse of extermination. The search for such an outcome will demand the best thought and efforts that leaders of both races can give; it calls for better manners, greater self-control, and for the sternest measures that the law will permit against incendiary speeches and publications.

Race Problem - 1921

United States

GLOUCESTER MASS TIMES

MARCH 8, 1921

THE TRAGEDY OF NEGRO EDUCATION.

A note of irremediable tragedy is contained in a recent book, called "Darkwater," by Professor W. E. B. Du Bois. The author is a negro of the highest education and intelligence. He says of himself that he was born "with a flood of negro blood, a strain of French, a bit of Dutch, but, thank God! no Anglo Saxon." In addition to the finest natural mental ability Mr. Du Bois has the advantage of complete training. There is no more carefully educated man in America today. He took honors at Harvard and studied abroad. On finishing his education he was fully equipped to take a leading place in American life. He was affable, of good appearance and manners. But his negro blood shut him out of almost the whole field of human activity. He went into educational work among people of his own color.

At Harvard, Du Bois was immensely the intellectual and moral superior of many men who snubbed him. The tragedy of it all is that his education could not in the least degree conquer the prejudice engendered by his color. Society wronged Du Bois in giving him every advantage, teaching him the delights of communion with the best mind and then ostracising him socially. It was not long after his graduation that the iron entered into this colored man's soul. Men should have esteemed it a favor to be admitted to his acquaintance. The cruel fact is that the white men ignored him. His splendid talents were not recognized and used. Du Bois has good white blood in his veins but because he is classed as a colored man he is shut out of the wide field of human endeavor in which his talents would make him shine.

The colleges and schools of New England always stretch out a helping hand to ambitious colored boys. While in school they are treated well and as they should be. The sad thing, for which we offer no remedy, is that on graduation the outside world isolates them socially and shuts them out from many fields of usefulness. All that is left them is service among their own

kind. This is not just nor democratic, and Professor Du Bois rightfully protests in passionate tones against this discrimination.

MEMPHIS TENN APPEAL MARCH 13, 1921

Racial Relations.

The news that comes from Springfield, Ohio, concerning serious clashing between whites and negroes furnishes added confirmation of the fact that the negro is a greater source of irritation to northern people than he is to those of the south, when our northern brethren come into contact with large numbers of the negro race. And this is a perfectly natural result. The northern idea of the negro, gained through literature and propaganda of various kinds, is an idealized conception, which is rudely shattered when actual contact is accomplished. On the other hand, generations of association has led to a mutual understanding in the south which is subject to no disillusionment.

B. M. Roddy, a local negro banker, has contributed a spirited discussion of racial relations to the local press; and, in the main, we think his position is a sound one. It is somewhat marred by a manifest anger, which is doubtless due to a feeling of injustice and to irritation with those who are seeking a solution of the problem in ways differing from his own conceptions of what is best. But he writes with ability and says some things which we regard as exceptionally wholesome.

Note this: "These uplift negroes and uplift white men, who do nothing fundamental for the south and its people, should be silenced. They are enemies of the south; they are parasites living by their wits." If the writer is speaking of the same people whom we have in mind, then we indorse every syllable of his quoted words. Also these: "Now there are a few so-called philanthropists (white) of northern birth, who are just as busy as are our negro fakirs in this race problem business. They are more dangerous to the south and its institutions than is the negro."

We imagine that the Association for the Advancement of Colored People is comprised by the latter quotation; to our mind, it aptly describes the ac-

tivities of the notorious organization, which can only lead to the injury of those whom it pretends to desire to assist. And the former applies to misguided southerners, whether so intended or not, who are carrying on a propaganda, the effect of which is to stimulate in the mind of the negro an expectation which can never be realized. They should be silenced; and the sooner the better.

This negro banker concludes by giving sane and needed advice to his own race and their white neighbors on the subject of thrift, which, if followed, will solve the difficulties in the situation in a large measure. He correctly affirms that "the thrifty, intelligent, self-respecting negro or white man does not carry a chip on his shoulder"; but, like some others, these terms need to be defined, if a clear understanding is to be gained of what is meant. For instance, Sutton Griggs is a thrifty, intelligent, self-respecting negro, who possesses the faculty of looking facts squarely in the face; and we think he is an eminently safe leader of his people.

Maj. Moton is a safe negro leader; so is Isaiah T. Montgomery, so also are the elder law abiding negro men and women, even though their position in life be humble.

RADICAL LETTERS

SIEZED IN N.Y. RAID

Afro American
Communist Missives Addressed To
Dr. Dubois, Finley Wilson And
W. L. Porter Uncovered
In Raid

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New York, May 3—In the series of raids conducted by local police and Secret Service men against the Communist party leaders, letters were found addressed to Dr. W. E. DuBois, editor of the Crisis; Mrs. Grace Campbell, 206 133rd street; J. Finley Wilson, editor of the Washington Eagle and W. L. Porter, editor of the Knoxville (Tenn.) News.

The letters were in a mass of literature seized on Bleeker St.,

INNOCENT MEN FOUND GUILTY. *Pittsburgh Express*

On November 3, 1920 a man by the name of Recht claimed that his store was robbed by two Colored men. Following his outcry, two Colored men were arrested, and when taken to the presence of Mr. Recht, they were positively identified as the burglars. The two men were imprisoned to wait trial, and on February 10, 1921, over three months after their arrest, these same two Colored men were found guilty by a jury. The judge sentenced them to penitentiary for a term of from three to four years.

When the two men started away, one of them broke down and wept, saying that he was not guilty. Whereupon, the judge called him back to the bar and asked how he could prove his innocence. The man pulled from his pockets a tattered envelope bearing a postmark which established the innocence of the two men by showing them to have been in another state on the date Mr. Recht said he was robbed.

The judge, overcome with astonishment, set aside the verdict of the jury, and revoked the sentence imposed upon the two men, and set them free.

This does not happen in our courts every day. This case is very unusual for our courts. But is the case uncommon? We think not.

How many men have been "found guilty" by a jury, when in truth they were innocent? How many men have been sent to prison by a judge who imposed sentence in accordance with the verdict of a jury? How often have they been made to do just what the judge asked these men to do, viz: prove yourself innocent?

The whole question is one of false practice in this country. We demand the accused man to prove himself innocent, whereas, we should demand that the Commonwealth prove him guilty. Innocent men should not be required to prove their innocence. Innocence is presumed and guilt must be established by the Commonwealth, and not by the defendants.

Some one swore to a lie that convicted these two men. Some one violated his oath when he testified against these two men, and the twelve men who convicted the men came to a false conclusion based upon false testimony.

Not every convicted man has an envelope in his pocket to prove his innocence. Not every convicted man can produce witness in his own behalf. Not every accused man can establish his innocence against a multitude clamoring for his conviction. This does not alter the fact of innocence.

The Negro is placed in a peculiar position in this country. If he is arrested, his guilt is presumed at once. If he can establish his innocence, he has to overcome the presumption of guilt, overcome the twelve jurors, overcome the judge and his personal convictions, and he must do all this to the satisfaction of white people who are strong enough to submit to facts when they are produced. For us justice moves on crutches.

—Pittsburgh Courier.

Finley Wilson Denies

Washington, May 3—J. Finley Wilson says he knows of no reason why should he espouse the views of Lenin, "Bill" Haywood and Trotzky.

He said probably the letter was to be sent him because he is president of the National Capital Press Association and is the acting head of the National Negro Press Association.

and were signed by "W. W." The literature contained the inner secrets of the party, and looked like an attempt to do proselyting work among the race.

While widely known as a radical upon the race question, it is generally believed that Dr. DuBois is not a convert to the principles of the underground party.

Mrs. Campbell, who was a Socialist candidate for the Legislature last fall, says she knows of no reason why the radical leaders should address a letter to her.

"The Communist party is a secret organization," she said. "It can gain little headway trying to make converts among colored people."

THE OPEN FORUM MEETING.

Dallas Express 3/19/21

It is not often that our people in the South are given the privilege of hearing as frank and as liberal an interpretation of "Social Brotherhood," as that expounded by Dr. John A. Rice of Southern Methodist University, before the last Sunday's meeting of The Dallas Open Forum.

The main theme of his address was a plea for such a valuation of each individual life as would allow it to obtain its fullest measure of self-expression and to contribute its fullest possible amount to the welfare of the world. He urged a stricter simple justice for all men; an actual attempt at a practical realization that economic, political and social shackles were more binding than those of the days of chattel slavery. He dwelt at length upon the necessity for the creation of a body of public opinion which should secure such a revision of our present sense of values as would cause all men to realize that the races and nations of the world are bound up by a common tie; to understand that the self preservation of "the man on top" depends upon the justice and fairness with which he deals with his less fortunate brother and that the end of all endeavor is the art of living together.

No less pleasing were the answers to questions asked the speaker by members of the adventure. The spirit which seemed to pervade the whole assembly was unusual to us who had never before engaged in such a meeting and highly refreshing.

We have long hoped for the coming of the time when men of all kinds will be able to lay aside prejudices and policies dictated by the experiences of a former day and so fairly face present day facts and so rightly value them as to come to a more nearly perfect understanding of the true relation of men to each other.

We realize that the "organization of moral forces" and the creation of a body of opinion which shall eventually give to every man that simple justice" without which he cannot reach his fullest self expression or give to the world his greatest contribution, is now a theory only, which must ally itself with a practical method before it can become a reality. But we also realize that the influence of the frank, free and honest discussion of the need of such a force will do much to make it a reality.

Our most crying need for simple justice is to be found along the lines of our everyday existence. It is neither far fetched nor does it demand complicated procedure to bring it to pass.

The questions as asked the speaker by Negroes present give a fair idea of the things which are uppermost in the minds of all of us who think. A sentiment is growing which makes the facing of the situations which arise from them more and more necessary.

One question was asked which concerned the Jim Crow laws and the failure of white passengers on public carriers to abide by them. Another had to do with the best method of stopping and destroying Lynch Law. The answers of the speaker to both of these questions were both frank and sincere. To the one concerning Jim Crow laws he said "no self-respecting white man would take the seat of a Negro." He urged in addition the formation of an inter-racial council to which such questions might be referred. To the second question he again recommended the formation of an inter-racial council and declared himself as favoring a law against lynching and the crimes which lead to lynching. We argue fully with the first half of the latter answer but we are rather wondering what provoked the latter half of it in the light of the fact that lynchings do not depend for cause upon anything definite nor clearly defined. The causes of the lynchings chronicled last year ran from murder to being freed by

jury against the desires of the citizens. How ever that may be, we appreciate such a free discussion of it.

We believe in simple justice and we are ambitious to reach that stage of freedom which will allow the contribution of our greatest bit to American success and prosperity. We believe absolutely that it can be accomplished only as public opinion so decrees it. Any attempt at the creation of such a body of opinion is refreshing.

EASTON PA. PRESS

MARCH 24, 1921

NATION BUILDING PROBLEMS.

America's greatest problems are anthropological, in the view of Professor A. E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota. Experts are constantly employed in introducing alien plants and animals and improving them, and Russian durum wheat, Sudan grass, Egyptian long staple cotton, Japanese rice, Arabian dates, Aberdeen-Angus cattle and the Belgian draft horses are a few of the many additions to national resources through scientific study.

But of the many breeds and cultures of humanity that have been seeking American shores there is no scientific knowledge.

First and most serious of the problems is that of immigration, which requires careful inquiry into the elements of strength and weakness different peoples bring, and the evolution of a policy restricting those unfavorable to assimilation.

The second problem is that of the negroes, now constituting a tenth of the population. Four great movements setting in like deep-swelling tides are a segregation of negroes in at least three Southern areas, the unprecedented increase of negro migration to the North, the amalgamation of the negro and the white, and the growing negro political power. It is through anthropological research into races and culture that the University of Minnesota and other institutions are seeking safe Americanization training.

PITTSBURG PA. DISPATCH
APRIL 29, 1921

South Carolina Asks Credit

The prosecuting attorney in a South Carolina county takes his typewriter in hand to tell the people of the North and East of recent cases in his State to prove that Southern white juries are willing to do justice to the Negro. In his own court this prosecuting attorney says he convicted a white man of prominence, supported by "character testimony" from a large number of other prominent white men, evidence that was opposed only by the word of Negro witnesses. Yet, choosing between the testimony of whites and Negroes, the jury

Harding's Message

St. Louis Argus
We have read and reread that portion of President Harding's message which refers to lynchings and the Race question. And while it was somewhat disappointing to us, yet he said enough to be interpreted in such a way that all of our expectations may be fully met.

He said that Congress ought to wipe out the stain of barbaric lynching from the banners of a free and orderly representative democracy. Of course, we expected this subject to be covered with a recommendation, which was not. The reason why, the President, himself can best tell.

In approaching the subject, it seemed that President Harding was fearful and was feeling his way, and found opportunity only in "something related to the foregoing" to mention lynchings.

It may be that we expected too much on this subject in the President's message. We believe that the Race problem is the greatest domestic problem with which the nation has to deal. Surely we thought that President Harding was fully acquainted with the condition of affairs. Yet we are loathe to believe that he lacked in courage and backbone to tackle such a problem at the beginning of his first congress. Not that we expected a long ceremony on the subject, but we did expect some definite statement at this time.

However, inasmuch as we believe President Harding to be right at heart and in spirit, we shall wait further interpretation of that part of his message as refers to lynching and the Race problem before we shall condemn him; but, in the meanwhile, we are disappointed.

convicted the prominent white citizen of murdering a Negro. In another case the issue was between a white man and a Negro as to an agreement and subsequent lien, and in this instance also the white jury accepted the word of the Negro and gave him a verdict. The people of the North and East will be as satisfied with the significance of these two illustrations as the people of South Carolina probably are and as the people of Georgia are over the outcome of the Williams case.

Criticism against the South has been directed against the fact that so few cases ever reached the courts because of the lynching spirit which manifests itself as much in intimidation as in open outright violence. Perhaps if more issues were properly presented to the courts the Negro might receive more justice. The people of Southern States have never thought of denying that, in general, cases in which Negroes were involved somehow found a way to be settled out of court and in a manner not in tune with established legal custom. More than two instances are needed to prove that the old system has given way to a new in which the Negro has a standing equal to that of the white man. But the people of North and East con-

gratulate the people of South Carolina that they seem to have made a beginning.

N. Y. C. JOURNAL
JUNE 2, 1921
OLMSTEAD TO TALK ON
PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO

"The Colored Race as a Factor to Americanization" will be the subject of an address by Arthur J. Olmstead, president of the National Americanization Unit, on Friday night, when he addresses the Admiral Philipp Camp, United Spanish-American War Veterans, at Borough Hall.

This camp is one of the largest in the city, and many veterans are expected to greet Comrade Olmstead, a past camp commander of the organization. He is ex-president of the Municipal Civic League of Brooklyn.

Race Problem — 1922 United States.



LOTHROP STODDARD, FAMOUS AUTHOR, 11-11-22 DISCUSSES OUR NEGRO PROBLEMS *Saturday Evening Chicago, Ill.*

LOTHROP STODDARD, famous writer on racial problems, whose book, "The Rising Tide of Color," is one of the most striking presentations ever made of the race question, recently was interviewed by Paul Y. Anderson of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. In the course of that interview, Dr. Stoddard said:

"Establish in law the national color line which now exists in fact. Both the whites and negroes are in a false situation now. The negro has the letter of the law on his side, but the white man has the force and the facts. Naturally, the result is to aggrrieve the negro. The man who wrote the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments assumed that the negro was a white man with a black skin. Of course, he isn't. He is a negro, and just as much so inside as outside. His color is merely one—and an unimportant one

with color, the issue is colored. That's plain. Then I would have local segregation, such as is practised in South Africa, and where it has worked out very well. Finally, I would permit the negroes a voice in government only as it concerned themselves. Thus they could work out their own destiny apart. I believe such men as Moulton and Booker Washington would have agreed to such a solution as this. They saw the truth of the race situation.

"Personally, I regard the abolition of slavery as the worst thing that ever happened for the negro, and the best for the whites. As a slave, a negro was a valuable domestic animal, and as such was assured of reasonably good care by his owner. Under such conditions he was sure to, and did, propagate rapidly. On the other hand, slavery was death to white labor, and, for that reason, a serious check on the white birthrate. The present condition of the negro generally proves, I think, that

—of his racial characteristics, the sum of which make him a negro.

"What do I mean by a national color line? First, mixed marriages must be strictly prohibited. When white breeds he is not equal to our swift, complicated civilization."

The interviewer then asked: "But could not the negro's present condition be attributed to the denial of opportunity? To the fact that he was exploited by white employers, landlords, and tradesmen? To the lack of education, decent living conditions and a fair chance in general?"

"No," Dr. Stoddard replied, "because the white laboring classes suffer almost the same exploitation, the same denial of opportunity, and yet are able to keep up the pace. See what the city does to the negro. In nearly every large city in the country the negro death-rate is higher than the birthrate. They simply can't stand the gait. It is an unnatural environment, and in it they die."

"Instead of Making Our Asylums, Hospitals and Penal Institutions Protection for Society, We Are Making of Them Hives From Which Com Swarms of Breeding Degenerates to Work Their Corruption on Our Race."

Later in the course of the interview, Dr. Stoddard said:

"Of all the fallacies there never was one more deadly than the delusion that all men are born equal. The iron law of inequality is everywhere obvious in nature. No two dogs are precisely alike. Still less are two chimpanzees alike, and men—at the top of the scale—are more different and more differentiated than any of the forms of life.

"If we are to be cleansed as a race, we must first of all purge ourselves of the germs of disease. The present state of affairs is frightful. The habitual criminal, the epileptic, the feeble-minded, the potent if not actual lunatic, the degenerate, the sufferers from transmissible disease—all are permitted to breed freely and promiscuously, save in a few States that have primary eugenic laws. Statistics showing the number of insane, criminal and afflicted descendants issuing from one common

ancestor are perfectly appalling and almost unbelievable except to those who are familiar with the condition. To cite one example:

"From one lazy vagabond, nicknamed 'Juke,' born in rural New York in 1720, have been traced six generations, numbering about 1,200 persons of every grade of idleness, viciousness, lewdness, pauperism, disease, idiocy, insanity, and criminality. More than half the women fell into prostitution, 130 were convicted criminals, 7 were murderers, 60 were thieves, 310 were professional paupers, 440 were wrecked by disease, and only 20 learned a trade, 10 of these being in State prisons."

In his interview Dr. Stoddard makes it plain that instead of making our asylums, hospitals and penal institutions a protection for society we are making of them hives from which come swarms of breeding degenerates to work their corruption on our race.

DES MOINES TRIBUNE
SEPTEMBER 29, 1922

The Colored Veterans.

The Evening Tribune has frequently remarked how unfortunate it is that the white people of Des Moines cannot meet the colored people in some of their worth while gatherings where they show what they have been doing for themselves.

If the whole city could have been present last night at the Successful Farming rooms as the colored veterans of the civil war were reviewed by Governor Kendall, Commander Pilcher and his staff, and listened to the music and to the speeches of welcome, everybody would know how far the colored people have gone in the time of men who served in slavery well on

into young manhood.

What is true of the colored people is equally true of other groups in this and every large city.

The trouble is the community learns only the police court record of the various groups.

It would surprise even those who aim to keep themselves posted on community progress to come into intimate contact with all the groups and to know with what zeal they are striving to win a place in this great American community that will honor them and particularly honor their children.

In this matter of community groups it would be easy to paraphrase what Charles Lamb said about personal jealousies, "How can I hate him if I know him?"

Nine-tenths of all the troubles of the world, international, interstate, intercommunity, intergroup, interindividual, come from one not knowing the other.

If we all knew what each other was doing here in Des Moines well enough to appraise each other's motives and ambitions and work, we should be one solid community with so few lines either of race or creed that we should be like a city set on a hill.

CHICAGO ILL. TRIBUNE
OCTOBER 28, 1922

ADVICE TO NEGRO LEADERS.

The Chicago Defender is one of the leading Negro publications in the country. On the first page of its issue of Oct. 28 appears a two column cut of a Paris demi-mondaine on whose bare arm is a silhouette of Siki, the Senegalese prize fighter. Under this cut are the following lines:

"Paris beauties not only carry Battling Siki, conqueror of the gorgeous Georges Carpentier, in their hearts, but wear him painted on their arms as well. These white women, living under the spirit of French belief in equality, liberty, and fraternity, are proud to honor their valorous countryman, although he is not white and is just a prize fighter. American chivalry is unable to rise to such heights of honest approbation."

We call attention to this matter because it illustrates a phase of the race problem as to which we think the colored people are being mischievously misled. Dr. Du Bois and others, black or white, who, in the so-called Niagara movement, and otherwise, have been propagandizing for the removal of social barriers between the whites and blacks, are sowing the wind. Whether the colored leaders like it or not, whether doctrinaires like

Oswald Villard approve or not, there is and there will remain a profound instinct against race mixture. It is not a question of chivalry, it is a question of race self-preservation, and if the Negro leaders are willing to destroy their own race identity by intermarriage, white Americans are not. The social equality demanded by this branch of Negro leaders and sympathizers involves intermarriage and intermixture, which will not be tolerated in this country.

To encourage the colored people to seek and demand it is to invite disaster, not to the whites, but to the blacks. It is to foment a racial feeling which can have only a most tragic development, which will make any previous race violence seem paltry.

This ought to be realized by colored leaders, and is realized by some of them. But the preaching of social intercourse in the guise of social equality leads straight to destruction for the Negro in America.

The Nation - 11-15-22-New York
A WAKENING of the American Negro to a keener political sense is evidenced in an editorial in the *Atlanta Independent* entitled A Hired Leadership, which complains that the race is handicapped by self-constituted leaders who are "willing to sell the birthright of the race for a miserable mess of pottage" and who consider that "office-holding for themselves is full payment and satisfaction for the recognition of the race's political rights." This, the Republican Party's time-honored method of holding the colored vote, will become less effective if the next session of Congress fails to enact the Dyer Anti-Lynching Law. As for Haiti—the other fundamental issue affecting Negroes which the Republicans had the power to rectify—an effort is being made by Senator McCormick to win favor with his large colored constituency and to salvage the total wreck of the Administration's pledges by appointing a few colored men to subordinate positions in that helpless republic. America's Negro citizens should be under no illusion as to this fraud.

Birthright Author Replies To Wilcox

(By Associated Negro Press.)

Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.
S. S. Stribling, author of "Birthright," in replying to the inquiry of the honorable William G. Wilcox, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Tuskegee Institute, as to his object for writing the story which appeared in the Century magazine and is now in the hands of the editor, says:

"A number of persons asked me for my object in writing Birthright. The general opinion of readers and reviewers seem to make out of Birthright a straightout discussion of the Negro situation. Now, for me to come forward and deny such a construction is rather futile, because if I could not put what I meant in the book, it is hardly worth while to write writer afterwards and try to explain.

"But since you have been good enough to ask me just what did I mean, I will say at once that I had not the slightest intention of taking a pessimistic view at what we call the Negro question.

"Peter Siner is not any Negro. He is not an x which represents his race, he is an artist and idealist, a particular sort of human being, set down in a particular blind veilage of the South. I live on Tennessee river of which I wrote. I am not prepared to say that Peter would have had the same luck fifty miles further up the river. I am perfectly sure he would not one hundred miles further up, that is, at Florence, Alabama.

"All my life, I have been aware of the tragedy and pathos of the black folk I saw around me. I have seen their unhappiness, beneath the droll mask some of them try to assume, and it is all very,

very sad and pathetic to me.

"As to the moralizing end, I am very sure that is about what Peter would have thought. I used the customary device of giving my hero's thoughts without quotation marks, and my reviewers both of the complimentary and uncomplimentary sort use of their steam rolling process and decided that I am generalizing on the colored question again. What I was trying to do was to keep strictly within the psychological of one particular person, an idealist and philosopher, who simply must get his theory and practice together. Those are hard things to keep hitched in a team no matter what color a man may be, and all of us who think at all do some very remarkable reasoning in the effort.

"I am aware—now that it is written and published that the book will always be view as a generalization. If any colored person should become discouraged from the book, no one will be more sincerely sorry than I. All Negroes are not alike. Some have administrative capacities and some are artistic and can create mentally but not through material. I chose the latter class as a type for my hero, because to me, his tragedy is the keenest of all human sufferings. I wanted to write a tragedy because, first, that is my feeling toward the Negro—his sorrows, and, second, because comedy is so soon forgot."

KANSAS CITY MO TIMES

FEAR CAUSES AN EXODUS

BLACK HAND BOMB RUMOR MOVES MORE THAN TWENTY FAMILIES.

Two Apartments, Near Third Street and Lydia Avenue, Are Almost Depopulated When Unsubstantiated Threat of Explosion Is Heard.

An exodus of negro occupants of the Lydia Court apartment, 1422 East Third street, attracted attention of the police at midnight last night.

It was revealed that the moving was from fear of a rumor that a plot had been laid to destroy the building early this morning by blasts.

H. M. Wyatt and R. B. Highly, motor

cycle patrolmen, riding at independence and Troost avenues, saw the negroes fleeing from the direction of the building.

RUMOR OF THREATENED BLAST.

On investigation they learned that the negroes feared they would be blown up in the building. When the police arrived at the apartment they found many negroes huddling on the porches of the building. The persons remaining said that half of the occupants of the house had gathered a few necessities and departed.

The building is three floors high and consists of two wings. Nine apartments are on each floor.

A rumor afloat in the building was to the effect that the owner of the building had been requested to sell the building and, having refused, had been threatened with destruction of the building.

Lieut. C. A. Vassar, in command of headquarters police station, ordered Sergt. Charles Burch and a detail of patrolmen to guard the building.

OWNED BY KAW BUILDING COMPANY.

Frank Stuhlman, 1037 Cleveland avenue, agent for the building, said the building was constructed about fifteen years ago. It is owned by the Kaw Building Company, of which Joseph Halpin, Harry Massman and W. J. Kennedy are officers.

He said the building had not been sold, as was reported, nor was any proposition for its sale being considered. He said he was at the building yesterday, but heard no rumor of a threat against any of those living in the building.

N Y C WORLD

MAY 16, 1922

It Seems to Me

It does not seem possible to keep discussion of the relations between the white and the Negro races out of this column. "I read your article on the McKay incident," writes R. E. L., who identifies himself as a Southern lawyer, "and I wonder if you'll be fair enough to read this little commentary—all of it."

We have done so and we are accordingly depressed because the letter illustrates very forcibly the prevailing tendency to disorderly thinking which makes all improvement in present day conditions so difficult. For instance, we wrote in protest against the practice of New York theatres in barring Negroes from orchestra seats and assigning them to the first balcony. R. E. L. writes to ask whether we want to have a black child. The color and number of the children in any given family seems to us to be strictly the concern of the parents, and we can't for the life of us see what it has to do with the seating arrangements of Broadway theatres.

Again we find in R. E. L.'s letter the extraordinary statement, "You must admit that the South is coping successfully with the Negro question." Of course, we will admit nothing of the sort. Indeed, we are

horrified that anybody should have the nerve to make such a claim less than a week after the recent atrocity in Texas. As a matter of fact, the phrase "Negro question" is hardly adequate. It is just as much the "white question." We must consider ways and means to educate or isolate those communities in which lynchings occur. It is unendurable that certain sections of this country shall continue to believe and act upon the theory that the only adequate answer to revolting crime is more crime.

"If you intend to draw a line anywhere," writes R. E. L., "we of the South will show you where to draw it. Draw it at the beginning. Accept or sanction no form of social equality. Your line of demarcation then must include the theatre, the dance hall, the restaurant, the hotel, the schools, the churches, the Pullman car, dining car, &c., &c."

This we find interesting, as it illustrates a certain attitude toward the church which would identify religion as a sort of spiritual table d'hôte of nothing more than social significance.

"If a Negro educates himself to my level," continues R. E. L., "I will meet him as an equal intellectually, but socially never."

Society which depends upon anything but intellectual parity seems to us of no importance. This is a distinction entirely too fine for our understanding. We can only guess as to our correspondent's meaning. We think that he intends to say that he cannot abide the thought of interbreeding between the white and the Negro races. Indeed, he has an anecdote bearing upon this question.

"Now I know," he writes, "two Negro girls who couldn't be identified as Negroes in the little Southern town where they lived except for the fact that everybody knew them. Their father and mother were mulattoes. Their father had some money that he had accumulated and he sent those girls up North to school. He never would say where and nobody cared especially. That was ten years ago and neither of those girls have come back yet. They are up here somewhere passing as white girls"

As a matter of fact, we are not capable of being as acutely horrified over this tale as R. E. L., but even from his point of view we cannot quite get what he wants to prove. It was not an accident of nature that the two young women happened to be so nearly white. The South and its citizens cut a ridiculous figure in raising such ructions about miscegenation when palpably it takes place so frequently in the very communities which profess to regard it with so much horror. It seems to us, then, a little academic and piffing to be so stern about whites and Negroes meeting in churches. Possibly they might meet there with less danger to the expressed opinions of the South than in other places not so sanctified.

As a clincher R. E. L. hurls statistics against us. "Let me give you a few facts that you probably did not know before," he says. "Over 90 per cent. of Negroes are morons; that is, they have a mental age of about twelve or fifteen years."

Now as a matter of fact there are no statistics of that sort covering the Negro race in America. Army figures, whatever they may be, would do no more than show a tendency. We don't know what percentage of morons were found among colored troops in the army. We doubt whether R. E. L. does, because it is our impression that the figures were never given out. It is also rumored that the percentage for the white army soared up to some amazingly high figure—between 50 and 60 per cent. Obviously so

many of us are morons that we can't afford to be snobbish about it.

As far as the theatre goes, and that was the point at which this discussion began, we feel sure that more than 90 per cent. of the spectators in any Broadway playhouse are morons. No other theory will explain the fact that it has become the universal practice to talk continually while a play is in progress and to repeat the lines immediately after the actor has said them. The theory that a man admits social equality with every one who sits down in a theatre with him seems to us to be carrying democracy much too far.

Still, even with the handicaps imposed upon theatre-going by the prevalence of bad manners, there are some plays worth seeing. We recommend "Fanny Hawthorn," "Kiki," "Captain Applejack," "The Nest," "The First Year," "Partners Again" and "To the Ladies!"

HEYWOOD BROWN.

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Some Late Books

"WHITE AND BLACK," by H. A. Shands.

White and Black and Birthright signal the beginning of a new type of Southern literature. The two recent novels, both written by Southern men, certainly mark a revival of fiction which deals directly with the two races in the South. More recent years popular fiction has been written around other themes. We have had Southern stories a plenty in that time, but not stories which dealt with the hard facts of relations between the two races here in this Southern country. Apparently, however, Messrs. Shands and Stribling—both, by the way, new writers—felt that the time had come when a serious examination into the character, aims and relations of the two peoples living side by side could be made by Southern writers in a way to command attention from all classes of reading people, North and South.

We will not review Birthright here, as this book has already had attention at our hands, but it is necessary, at least natural, that we should discuss the two novels each in connection with the other, since both are of the same character and both are written by Southern men, while they appeared practically simultaneously, one with a Tennessee-small-town setting, the other with a Texas-small-town and rural setting.

But if we had no other reason to discuss them in connection with each other we should feel impelled to do so because of one distinctive difference between them. In Birthright, Mr. Stribling's book, one will not find from the first page to the last, a single sentence or phrase that is complimentary to the white people of the South. On the contrary there is a positive vein of contempt for the Southern people, their intelligence, their ideals and their character. The white characters introduced are correctly drawn, and the negro characters are admirably pictured. But Mr. Stribling undertakes to give his reader the impression, apparently, that in the South there are no white people who understand all sides of negro character, who do not sym-

thize in any way with the negro and who have no kindly feeling for the negro. He does this by omitting kindly-disposed Southerners from this book. One would suppose from reading Birthright that the negro receives no co-operation and support from Southern people, whereas as a matter of fact, the better class of Southern people, the more intelligent people, not only feel kindly toward negroes, but in thousands of ways are now as they have always done, lending their aid and sympathy to the negro. But for the fact that the story is otherwise true in its local atmosphere and true in its characterizations, the book might have been written by a Boston professor who had never been South. To the extent that Mr. Stribling omitted this side of the Southern white man's character, and to the extent that he is contemptuous of Southerners in general, he is to be condemned for writing false history and drawing unwarranted conclusions. Outside of these things, however, he has written a splendid novel in many respects. His style is unusually engaging, and he shows an undeniable capacity for serious thinking.

In Black and White, Mr. Shands has written one of the most interesting stories of recent times, and he has completed the picture of life in a Southern community which is part white and part black. He gives us an intimate view of every familiar type in Southern communities—the educated Southerner who understands the negro's every trait, who sympathizes with the negro when he is weak, yet would repress him when the negro oversteps the well-understood mark; the white planter, who "furnishes" negro tenants, the small-town banker and merchant; the small-town minister and physician, the small-town crook, and all the others. He understands the type commonly known as "poor whites," their point of view in regard to negroes. He understands the great variety of characters one encounters on Southern farms and in Southern towns. He gives us a view of the whites and blacks who are trying seriously to uplift their races, as well as of those who would hinder progress and embarrass the relations of both.

He understands the extent of the Southerner's sympathies for his black neighbors. He knows who is kindly disposed to the negro and who is not, what type of negro is acceptable, what type is not. He writes with uncommon candor, for an American, of the social relations of the two races, and he does not "write around" any problem now confronting the two races, whether economic, social or educational. He gives what could be taken as a simple historical account, for a short period of life in a typical small community in the South.

Mr. Shands is quite as severe in his criticism of Southern whites wherever criticism is warranted, as Mr. Stribling is, but unlike Mr. Stribling, he is tolerant and sympathetic at times, and does not hesitate to be fair to his own people.

Harcourt, Brace & Company, Publishers, New York

YANKEE GENERAL ON RHINE RAPS FRENCH BLACKS

New York News 6/24/22
American Soldier Makes Undiplomatic and Prejudiced

Attack on Brave Colored Troops of French Republic, Which Will Probably Protest.

Berlin, June 16—The presence of troops of "lower civilization" under the conditions of military occupation is undesirable, not only in the Rhine, land but anywhere, in the opinion of Major-Gen. Henry T. Allen, commander-in-chief of the American Army of Occupation, as expressed by him today to American newspaper correspondents. He was being interviewed regarding black troop units on the Rhine. It is thought the French Republic will protest to America against the prejudicial attack of the American general.

Gen. Allen said in his connection with the Rhineland High Commission he had been present at a number of conferences with Germans with regard to the presence of colored troops in Germany—first with the clergy, then with university professors and later with the newspaper men—in all of which it was emphasized that it would be better if these units were replaced. Gen. Allen said most of the actually black units already had departed. All the Senegalese had gone, and only a part of the Madagascar troops remained. However, there were about 15,000 colored troops still on the Rhine, composed of North African units, among whom a number of what are known as "black soldiers" are enrolled.

Gen. Allen expressed the hope that shortly no troops at all would be required on the Rhine. He declared the occupation of the Ruhr was "too terrible to think of," and a move that nobody wants. "Even the French do not want to occupy the Ruhr, except in case of the direst necessity," he asserted.

Gen. Allen made it clear that though French troops were being brought in the Coblentz sector would continue to be distinctly American, and there would be no change in policy there.

The American provost courts will continue to govern and the American administration will be generally maintained as in the past.

SPARTANSBURG S C HERALD
SEPTEMBER 4 1922

"WHITE LEADERSHIP NEEDED."

(From the Asheville Citizen.)

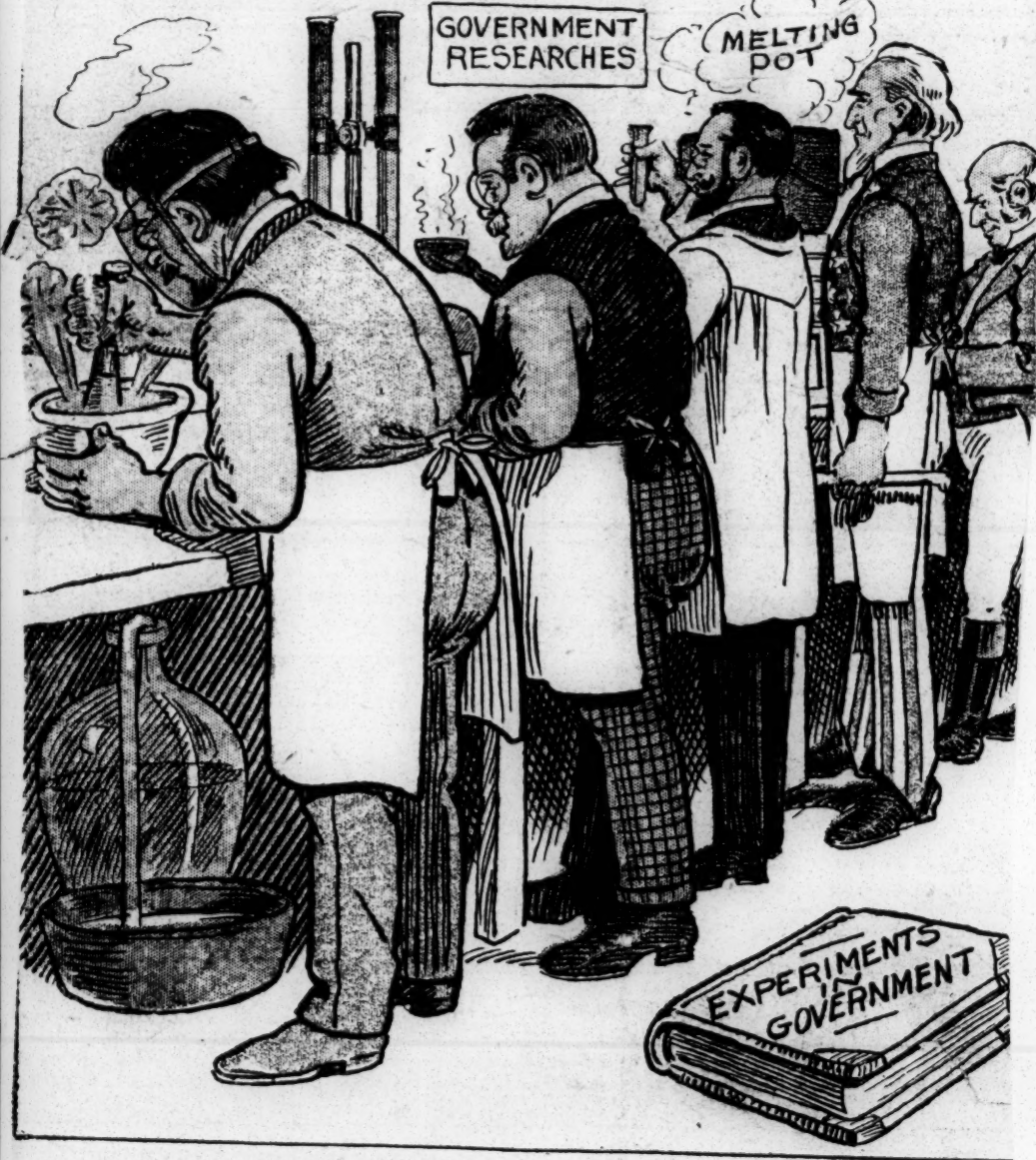
"Religion, humanity and self-interest require that we should be active, sympathetic friends of the Negro," says a recent statement from the Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation. The letter reviews briefly the relations of the two races under slavery in the South, "as beautiful and humane as ever characterized the relations of master and slave. The leading Southern white people took marked interest in the welfare of the Negro. He was often a member of their church and was ministered to by white preachers. A strong bond of sympathy tied the two people close together. Unfortunately we Southern people have permitted the leaders of the races to drift apart. The strong moral grip which our leaders had upon the Negro in the past has been lost. This is a condition fraught with the possibility of serious consequences. That is, today it is lowest classes of the two races that come into closest contact, a condition which is a constant source of friction."

The responsibility rests upon any dominant race to use its power for the elevation of the other people is emphasized. The appeal for inter-racial cooperation. "If the white man does not take the place of sympathetic leader, the position may be seized by Negro agitators who might foment antagonism. The situation is an eloquent appeal to white leaders."

Race Problem - 1922.

United States.

INTERNATIONAL LABORATORY



"In the International Laboratory Each Government Would Make Its Experiment Without Prejudice."



"Four Hundred Years Ago Ponce de Leon Was Exploring What Is Now Florida, in the Hope of Finding the Fountain of Youth."



"It Cannot Stand Still. It Must Either Follow Progress or Be Caught by Decay."

DAMNING US WITH FAINT PRAISE

The Norfolk Journal and Guide found it necessary a few days ago to explain that it did not desire to hold the Negro down.

7-29-22

We do not refer to this with any desire to argue the question, nor have we any pleasure in discussing it at all, but some of the statements of the Ledger-Dispatch were so significant in their bearing upon the whole question of race relations and government that some comment upon them in these columns is justified and will prove of interest to our large number of readers in this city and elsewhere.

As evidence that it is interested in the welfare of the colored people, the Ledger-Dispatch cites that it has bitterly condemned lynch law and has set aside a certain amount of space in its news columns for publication of news of the Negro's "other side." Then the editor says:

"But we do not for one moment accept any theory that even points to the advancement of the Negro at the expense of the white. This does not mean at the pecuniary expense of the white, for Virginia's whites have in overwhelming measure paid the cost. the money cost, of educating colored children."

Before further quoting the able editor or we are constrained to remark that his splendid paper should not take to itself any credit for opposing lynch law. Lynch law is a crime against the State and against civilization.

The editor declares that his paper is not opposed to the advancement of the Negro at the "pecuniary" expense of the whites—meaning the expenditure of money for education. Then he has left us in the dark as to what he means. The Negro asks an equitable distribution of the school funds, a fair industrial opportunity, equal justice in the courts, the right to vote when qualified under the state laws. Could he ask for less, or could any fair-minded citizen wish to deny him these things? The Negro does not ask for "social equality," in the sense that the term means socially intermingling with white people; attending white schools, joining white so-

cieties and intermarriage with white people. The Virginia Negro is as much opposed to social equality as the Virginia white man is.

The editor goes on to state that "Virginia's whites have in overwhelming measure paid the cost * * * of educating colored children," because:

"they realize that the colored population of this state far more nearly represents the best that is in the Negro race than does the colored population of any state in the union; because despite an occasional outbreak, there is a strong bond of tradition and inheritance between the two races in Virginia, and because Virginians have always, without priggishness and self-praise, considered as still binding the obligation to care for and help a people formerly held in bondage by them."

To such a premise Virginia Negroes may reasonably take exception, because it is embarrassing to them to be held up in contrast with Negroes in other states and advertised as the "best" when upon the whole we are no better than Negroes in other states, and there is no reasonable ground for such a presumption. The same traditions and intertance that bind Virginia Negroes and Virginia white folks also bind Negroes and white folks in all other former slave states; and the same obligation that rests upon the white people of Virginia to help their former slaves and their decendents to rise to the levels of useful citizenship, rests upon the white people of all the other former slave states to whom the Negroes gave two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil.

So the avowals of "good humored affection" coupled with the expressed opinion that we are the best Negroes in the world, do not remove the harsh and stubborn fact that upon a mere political technicality we are denied better opportunities to educate our children.

Virginia does not impoverish itself, nor seriously inconvenience itself to educate its Negro children. Go search the records. Negroes comprise one-third of the population of the state. According to the last census the State was spending in excess

of \$6,000,000 annually for the education of its white children and less than \$1,000,000 for the education of its colored children. The ratio was \$14.08 per white child to \$4.13 per colored child. The per centage was .87 for the whites to .13 for the colored. The Negro's taxes, direct and indirect, pay a large proportion of what he receives for the education of his children.

We do not ask for praise; we do not ask for flattery. We want the fundamental things that make for a decent livelihood. We do not want to be denied an educational or an industrial opportunity that will help us and not hinder the other race; and the spreading of doctrines that deny us these things is not consistent with traditional and inherited bonds of affection, nor with simple justice.

NEGROES IN A MUDHOLE
No individual or race can command any more respect from another individual or race than the amount of self-respect they maintain for themselves. 7-27-22

The Atlanta Negro is very largely a spasmodic proposition. He is easily enthused all over. He jumps into a thing blindfolded. He thinks but little. He is easily lured away. As a rule he grabs the shadow for the substance, and there is no clearer demonstration of these facts than their conduct and behavior at the bathing pool in the proposed park on the west side for Negroes.

Mayor Key and his associates have been promising the Negroes for a goodly number of months certain municipal benefits and among them was a park with a bathing pool, something similar to the bathing pools in Grant and Piedmont Parks. But the Negroes will not permit the white people to prepare and make the pool and park decent for them on the west side.

If one were to go to the park as early as 4 o'clock in the morning, they would be reminded of a South Georgia pond full of black tadpoles when the water is drying up and there is not enough water in the hole to cover the tadpoles.

Before the pool can be completed, a street cut, seats built or lights provided out in the place they call Washington Park, the

Negroes so infest the place until the white people are about to reach the conclusion that there is no need of bringing the place up-to-date, making it sanitary and comfortable; that without a bath house or a place of privacy for women and men to change their clothing before and after going into the pool, the hole is so filled with men and women that the authorities are justified in reaching the conclusion that modern facilities are not necessary to satisfy Negroes. A mudhole in the road or in the cavity of a rock or anywhere is good enough for "cuffy."

If the city authorities are given an opportunity, we believe they will build a first-class, sanitary pool in Washington Park with ample privacy and facilities for those who care to take a public bath and avail themselves of the opportunity. But if the Negroes are going to fill the hole with their bodies before these necessary arrangements and comforts can be provided, it will not be necessary to provide them. The pool has a very limited capacity, and the health of the people is endangered when they fill it beyond its capacity. The water runs in slowly and runs out slowly, and when four or five hundred Negroes get into a hole of water one hundred feet square, more or less, there is much danger of being infected with various diseases and poisons emitting from the bodies of many persons who do not bathe at all, and who are infected with divers contagious diseases. The Independent confidently expects blindness, deafness and many other fatal maladies as a result of our people crowding and piling themselves into this pool on Sundays and other days. There is no accommodation out there—not a street or sidewalk in the place;

not a seat built; no facilities for light; no water to drink; nothing except a few soft drink stands that are dispensing warm soft drinks, mullet fish and other eatables exposed to flies, insects and other disease-carrying bugs, etc. At least ten thousand Negroes infest this place every Sunday and there must be some sanitary and helpful precautions to prevent the spread of disease.

Then, there should be some regularity about men and women bathing in the same pool. In fact, it should not be permitted until there are some regulations provided to protect the modesty of one sex from the other. A person full of hot watermelon, cherry cola and other forms of drink, mullet fish and the like, is not a fit person to pile in a hole of water made warm by the bodies of a thousand people, whose natural heat will heat the water to an infecting degree before it can escape through the limited waste pipes. But it will not last long. The Atlanta Negro is largely spasmodic, emotional, quick to jump in and quick to jump out.

This criticism does not apply to all Atlanta Negroes, because there are exceptions, but it does apply and is meant to apply to the easy-going herd that patronize the amusements without regard to their character or helpfulness.

We wish to qualify our remarks so that those who are not guilty will take no offense, and in the language of our Governor, all whom the cap fits, let them wear it, for it was cut for them. Verily, we repeat that the pool in Washington Park on Sundays reminds us very much of the lime sinks and mudholes in South Georgia filled with tadpoles in the summer when the pond begins to dry and there is not enough water to cover the thousands of tadpoles and frogs that infest the pond. Those who fill the pool at Washington Park beyond its capacity are endangering their lives and threatening their sights, poisoning their bodies and laying the foundation for premature deaths.

Let the Negro do like the white people did at Piedmont and Grant Parks, stay out of the pond until it is ready and prepared to furnish them all the sanitary comforts and pleasures that the city has in mind for them. Let the Negroes not demonstrate by their spasms that any mudhole is good enough for them and the city need not go any further than to dig a hole in the ground and fill it with water; that they need no seats, no lights—just dig a hole in the ground and fill it with water and we are satisfied.

BOULEVARD NEGROES PRESENT A NEW PSYCHOLOGY
The modern psychologists are agreed upon the proposition of individual variation. They are in the conception that this variation is one of the most striking characteristics of human nature. They acknowledge the fact that sense organs vary in acuity, and that one may be blind to all colors or to certain ones; and unable to feel certain things, real or imaginary; and, while they admit the complexity of the problem of behavior, and the individual variation in the difficulty of solution of typical problems of environment, they contend that in this day a solution of all problems of environment may be had.

Admitting, as we do, the argument of the psychologists, in the propositions of mental tests, we have found a new psychology in the minds of the Negro citizens who live in the vicinity of Morris Brown University.

There has been a largely promoted tendency among an element of Negroes to build very comfortable and expensive residences in the neighborhood of Morris Brown. Some very beautiful homes have been and are being constructed, some costing as high as \$20,000. It seems that this element has selected this particular neighborhood, here near this splendid university, to make beautiful and have for themselves permanent, comfortable homes.

But, along with this movement comes another proposition which has enjoyed an equal promotion in his neighborhood, that is, the building of factories.

Now, everybody knows that the building of factories in this very splendid neighborhood is damaging to the beautiful homes there. It lowers their value and detracts greatly from their beauty. With the smoke and dirt coming from such places, one cannot keep a window open without damage to the household goods, nor can one hang out clothes that have been washed unless they are taken in full of soot and dirt.

The people of this neighborhood have been loud in their condemnation of this factory building, but their protests have not been made

to the proper authorities who hold the only remedy. These people know this factory building is wrong; know that it is damaging to their property and spoiling the beauty of the section they are spending thousands of dollars to make beautiful; they know the law, but they are not applying to the city authorities to prevent such. What is the matter with their minds, and from whence comes this new psychology?

A number of other factories are to be built in this section—a fact well known—and these people know it, and, instead of entering a protest before the construction is begun, they are sitting supinely by on their judgments, waiting, evidently, until it is too late to stop it, when they will begin complaining.

If they are going to complain, it should be done NOW, and if they are not, they should stop talking about it, and when the smoke from these factories gets to be more than they can stand, they might go on down to Stone Mountain and build a home on its highest crest.

Editorial of Note

From the Vicksburg Herald—

When dear old Bobbie Burns prayed that "Would home power the gift would give us to see ourselves as others see us" he did not mean as that other poet said that we should be seen "with a jaundiced eye." Somebody with a jaundiced eye has played a practical joke on the Nation, a national weekly of considerable prominence, published in New York and having a large circulation in the South, one of whose principal states is written up in the issue of May 17 in a way that will cause a wave of merriment to sweep from Sullivan's hollow to Vinegar Ben. The author, Beulah Amidon Ratcliff, spent two and a half years in Mississippi and if she saw no more good in the people who took her in and made her one of themselves than she tells of in the Nation article, then the fault is not in ourselves, but in her.

It is a fact that Beulah Amidon was received as is every decent stranger with a hospitality that amazes the Northern born person, not with suspicious in so many small communities north of Virginia, and her scribble written on a typewriter whose ribbon was soaked half in gall and half in vinegar will injure no one in the heart of Dixie.

It is rare that such a complete issue of misstatements is woven together. She begins by saying "that it is hard for a Northerner to understand Mississippi" it was impossible for her; it is a well known fact in Vicksburg amongst her intimates who get along with and are fairly worshipped by their negro servants, that she hated the Negro so that she could not keep a servant; she did not understand them then and does not now. Then follows half a page of what Mississippians think of the late Civil War and the "Revolt of '75" whatever that is. "Mississippi bases its ideals and activity on the rosy tradition of 'befo de wah.'" Ye gods! that's news. One suspects that in Sunflower county, where this bitter tongued woman lived for awhile that some neighboring Falstaff did her like the Westerners do the terdefeet and filled her frightened ears with awful tales of bad men from Mississippi; of whippings and lynchings talking in negro dialect all for the adification of the gullible story writer who wanted local color.

Her description of Mississippi is as fair as if some one living today in Chicago were to describe the bombing and burning of buildings as being typical of Illinois; or if the writer whose subject is Pennsylvania, would describe the Hol-landers of Bucks County as typical of the State. The Nation should have chosen a writer with a broad outlook, one who had seen the whole State, not a small corner of the extreme black belt.

Beulah then goes on to say that the planters all rent at least one-fifth more land than they own; that is they are all dishonest; somewhat of a sweeping charge against one's former friends and a neighbors. Her statements of the way the negro tenants are settled with is a

joke; any impartial investigator will find it is exactly the opposite of her statements; for example, Mr. T. A. Helgason of this city "settled" with his Negro tenants last year not as she says but by saying "We'll wipe out your debts and start fresh." Hundreds of planters do the same, every year. Then she maligns the negro whom she hated while here. She says "the jovial singing courteous negro has passed away." She never saw for he felt child that he is, that he was in the presence of an alien and his song was hushed. "They are unbelievable slow and stupid." This is too funny; any one who knows the negro and makes allowances for his faults would never say that. What so few Northern people can understand is that Southern people are partial to the negro. They loan him money, feed him, get him medicine when sick, give him their clothes sometimes before they want to, being smilingly persuaded hereto, all in a kind of feeling that the negro looks up to them for guidance and help and it is never refused.

"The Mississippi planter will keep the negroes slaves" that is because the negro signs a contract to be fed and housed for a year and the planter may ask after having spent \$500 or more on him that the debt be paid.

Beulah Amidon Ratcliff is wrong even when she praises us. She says the "negro school buildings in Vicksburg compare favorably with the white schools." We never claim that and the Herald's files will show agitation after agitation by responsible white people to improve the negro schools. The impending bond issue will provide for that; our negro schools are not good and we know it, but neither are our white schools, but they both will be improved.

"There isn't a full blooded nigger in the State." That's another statement which can be refuted by the negroes themselves. Then she rambles on to the incident when four "Patriots" as she calls them tarred and feathered a colored woman during the war. She says they were tried but never served their sentence. She neglects to say this was the first symptom of Bolshevism; that the good people of Vicksburg rose to a man and let the colored people know that this would not dare happen again; she doesn't state that the courts in Mississippi as in her beloved North Dakota are slow and that this case was pushed by the best white people of Vicksburg. There four men were tried and convicted in the Circuit Court.

"Mississippi is undeniably a backward State." Not a word for the millions which the good people of Sunflower tax themselves yearly, a tax which would bankrupt most communities, to maintain the levee system, to keep the mighty floods of the Western States she love so have chosen a writer with a broad outlook, one who had seen the whole State, not a small corner of the extreme black belt.

Mississippi hasn't adopted all of the frills of the Socialist! there's the rub. Mississippi has a population about that of Philadelphia's, an impartial observer would say that while they are not angle former friends and a neighbors. Neither are they in North Dakota and they are prettily fair, average human beings and doing their best as the light is given them.

we need country clinics," Beulah says. Well Mississippi doesn't maintain in connection with the Federal aid which she says we refused, at least eight clinics for the treatment of venereal diseases; they did an enormous amount of good for both white and black; they're not in existence now because the congress failed to appropriate any money. Mississippi still does her share but it is not enough; it is as much as an agricultural state with thousands of demands for money can do.

"The negro's sex life is utterly bestial," says Beulah. Now that is subject, that is taboo to Southern ladies. However they do not apply to them the "Horizon of northern college women" of which Beulah is a fair specimen the Lord be praised. The negroes can refute this charge as a voice themselves. We wonder how much of Beulah's venom is due to the fact that the Women's Party in Vicksburg refused to admit her; her views on governmental affairs being too Bolshevistic for them.

"Mississippi doesn't want any Northern ideas of business, agriculture, education and building." What a joke. Our Superintendent of Public Schools is an Indiana man; the principal of the High School is from Arizona; our wealthiest men are from Iowa and other states; many of our county teachers are Northern college graduates. As for Federal aid for roads, well we are hungry for it. Beulah says: "That will be new to many." She says we need "Missionaries, not do it in Mississippi" or "we not," China and Africa but in Mississippi. Medical Missionaries, Educational, evangelical and agricultural." To quote her, who must be afraid of the whipping post, the tar kettle, or the inglorious martyrdom of the midnight lynching bee. "For those who court such martyrdom, in the desire to see the light of civilization penetrate the uttermost parts of his own country, let him go to Mississippi the glorious heart of Dixie."

If the Nation's articles on each State are written in such a venomous, unfair manner, outside of their value as sensational sellers of the weekly they will accomplish little. The ladies of Vicksburg and Sunflower county may well ponder on the story of the man who warmed a viper at his bosom and what happened to him. Mississippi provided this lady with a husband which is certainly nothing for an old maid to be so mad at, especially when the chief incident of the honeymoon was an all night ride chasing a negro, who had assassinated a white planter, which mob was led by the happy bridegroom and his brother. The negro was captured, legally tried and executed, not lynched.

No Southern bride would enjoy such a honeymoon experience, but it's all grist with Beulah is it makes salable copy.

FREE DOCTOR PRISONER ON CHAIN GANG

Whites in Mississippi Use Influence to Humiliate Man of Profession

Chicago Defender

Jackson, Miss., Aug. 4.—The curtain has dropped on the first act of doubtless the most sensational criminal case tried in the courts of this city and county for many years.

The principal actor was Dr. S. A. Miller, well known physician here, who was arrested July 7 by a United States special agent on a charge of selling morphine. He was arraigned before a federal commissioner, waived examination and gave bond in the sum of \$5,000. However, before the federal authorities could release him warrants were served on the physician as the result of 44 affidavits by city and county officials against him growing out of the same alleged charge.

Charges Juggled

Two days later Dr. Miller was arraigned before the police justice of Jackson on the 44 charges, but Attorneys S. D. Redmond and G. L. Teat, representing the physician, showed the court that 43 of the charges were manufactured out of the one charge, that the statute had been juggled and the one offense pyramided into 44 by the prosecution for the sole purpose of keeping Dr. Miller from getting bond, and they backed their contention by law, but the judge held the doctor guilty under each of the 44 counts.

Dr. Miller's attorneys proved that the only possible charge against him was the sale of morphine to a Mr. Atkins, which carried with it a specific fine of only from \$10 to \$50 under the Mississippi law, but instead of one of these fines being imposed, the charge was switched under the head of "poisons," the seller of which under the law here is required to keep a record of all such sales, giving name of person to whom sold, his address, age, color, sex, for whom bought, for what purpose, must be wrapped in scarlet paper, written on with white ink, marked "poison," etc. Anyone failing to keep this record shall be fined not more than \$500.

Bond Is High

Instead of imposing a fine under the morphine act, the court held him under the "poison act," and exacted \$500 for each of the charges and imposed 44 fines aggregating \$12,500. The fines imposed at the rate allowed on the county farm and streets would have kept Dr. Miller in penal servitude for 108 years could he have lived that long. His attorneys held that he should not be held by either city or county since the federal government had already taken jurisdiction. His bond was placed at \$103,000.

Dr. Miller's attorneys endeavored to raise the bond. When the 44 different bonds exacted in as many cases against the physician had been submitted, a committee of white citizens had a list of the bondsmen and visited each personally. The police justice refused to approve the bonds. In the meantime Dr. Miller had been put to work on the streets and served as quite an attraction, causing thou-

sands to go out of their way to see him.

Doctor Released

A third writ of habeas corpus was drawn and presented to the judge of the circuit court. Dr. Miller was released. Another committee became active. It waited on Attorney Redmond and advised him not to defend the physician. Five able lawyers were employed by the whites to prosecute the physician.

Dr. Miller was sentenced to five years in the federal prison at Atlanta some time ago on a charge of obtaining morphine for an unlawful purpose. He appealed this case.

BIRMINGHAM ADA AGE HEATH
JULY 4, 1922

SECTIONAL ISSUES ARE OUT OF DATE

The efforts of certain republicans to wage a "bloody shirt" campaign, based on memories of 1861, will not succeed.

Just as the south is weary of the professional southerner who was wont to parade his unconstructed attitude toward the north, so is the north weary of the eastern negro-ophile, who insists on making an issue out of something that is no longer an issue. Northern men have traveled the south and southern men the north. A mutual respect for the different sections has developed between them, each section recognizing that the other is the best judge of how to handle its local affairs.

Alabama does not advise the Pacific coast as to its treatment of the Japanese and the southwestern states as to their treatment of the Mexican. Alabama has not suggested to Massachusetts cotton and wool mill operators how to handle their foreign labor questions. As for acts of violence, for which the south has been held to account by the "bloody shirt" crowd, there has never been in the south an outbreak approaching in brutality the recent affair of Herrin, Ill.

Southern and northern men have fought side by side in two wars. Conditions suited to carrying elections on sectional hate no longer exist, except in a few northern congressional bailiwicks where politicians pander to the negro vote.

Unprovoked Assault on Negro

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK EVENING POST:

Sir: I witnessed to-day a peculiarly brutal and cowardly piece of race bullying by a man in the uniform of the United States Navy. At 11 P. M. I stood, with a few friends, on the platform of the Columbia University subway station, when a group of some twenty sailors came noisily down the stairs, laughing and talking. A fine-looking, quiet, and well-dressed young negro of between twenty and twenty-five years stood on the platform at the time, apparently offending no one, and, so far as I know, minding his own business. I looked away for a moment and was suddenly startled by a loud crash, almost like the report of a pistol. I turned in time to see the negro fall in a heap on the platform, momentarily unconscious from a blow on the head with a heavy stick in the hands of one of the sailors. To save himself from detection, his assailant had immediately thrown the club on to the tracks, where I heard it fall, and saw it lying there. It was a smooth piece of hard wood, like a rail, two feet long and about three inches in diameter, broken off at one end. Only one of the uniformed men showed any solicitude for the injured man. The others, so far from seeming to regret the incident, stood by laughing and joking. One of them was heard to mutter some words about "trying to get on the same train with us." It seemed to those of us who stood near by that this was a case of an entirely unprovoked attack—an outburst of race prejudice and cold-blooded insolence of the kind we were recently taught to hate under the name of Prussian militarism.

There was no way of reporting the offender to authorities for punishment, since he could not be identified among the group of sailors, but I cannot let the occasion pass without making an indignant protest at this wholly un-American bit of militaristic "schrecklichkeit." Is this the boasted honor and chivalrous manhood that are said to be developed in our great "floating university," the navy? Is this the same sort of solicitude for oppressed peoples which has sent us into Haiti to bear "the white man's burden" and to spread the benefits of our superior civilization among the ignorant and (so-called) "inferior" races?

CARROLL M. HOLLISTER.

New York City, July 23.

REFUSES TO SING
"OLD BLACK JOE"
AND "DIXIE"

**MUSICIANS REFUSE TO
PLAY "OLD BLACK
JOE AND "DIXIE."**

BALTIMORE, Md., Aug. 5.—Frederick Huber, director of Thomas' Concert Band, one of the most popular entertainment institutions in this city, has established a new policy for future programs. Director Huber wrote a letter to his band leader recently to

the effect that he was going to change his programme features because he had noticed that his audiences did not join heartily in the singing of plantation melodies and slavery time songs and that in some instances the song "Dixie" was hooted and jeered.

Makes New Program

In place of Dixie, Old Black Joe, Swanee River and Massa's In De Cold, Cold Ground New Songs Like Smiles, Silver Threads Among the Gold, Till We Meet Again will be substituted. In all of these songs writes Mr. Huber the audiences will be asked to join in and sing these substitutes for the unpopular melodies.

PAINFUL, BUT TRUE

Major John F. Durkan, of Scranton, Pennsylvania, in welcoming the delegates and visitors of the Knights of Pythias Grand Lodge Session, being held in that city, diverged from the propriety of the occasion to give a little advice and speak of some of the shortcomings of the Negro, which he vouchsafed in the following words: "The trouble is that the Negro is not sufficiently militant; you are too good-natured and easily satisfied; you seem to prefer progress along the line of least resistance."

The Mayor illustrated his point by telling of a little incident which happened to a party visiting in the South. He said a friend asked a little colored boy if he did not want to earn a quarter. The boy shrugged his shoulders and replied, "No, boss, I have got a quarter."

While the expressions of the Mayor may not be very pleasing to some of us, we may as well admit the facts, for he hit the nail squarely on the head.

The first statement, which says that the Negro is not sufficiently militant, was true to the letter, and while there is some justification for a Negro's timidity and timidity, he does not exercise a sufficiently militant spirit to forge himself along progressive lines as fast as he might go. It is also true that certain conditions, which the Negro faces, necessarily keep him to a very great extent on the defensive; but there is wide latitude for a more offensive practice of a righteous force, which is solely lacking. It may be agreed that he has fought valiantly to overcome all too evident discriminations, and proscriptions; but we do contend that there is plenty of

room for more aggressiveness.

The second statement mentioned by the Mayor, that is, "You are too good-natured and easily satisfied," may be viewed from more than one angle. We do not know just what the Mayor had in mind in his reference to the good-naturedness of our people, but it is true that good nature might be as much a virtue as an evil, and in the light of that fact, we regard the good-naturedness of the Negro, as we see it, as both because its presence in some of us is dominated by a spirit of goodness, while in others, it is a result of fear. With reference to our being too easily satisfied, we could find no argument against that expression, for the

Negro is the most satisfied person on God's whole earth, regardless of what his condition might be. It appears that it is an extremely difficult task to arouse the Negro to increase his desires. The masses of Negroes belong to the "hand-to-mouth" type; they are satisfied at just keeping body and soul together; they have no aims, no ambitions; they live by the day, that is, happy if I can get by to-day; to hell with tomorrow, it can stand for itself. If the average

Negro can get enough to eat and a few clothes, he is as happy as a jaybird in whistling time; if he lives in an alley, in smothering, unsanitary conditions, he is content to remain there; if his wage is only \$10.00 per week, he will work one hundred years for the same pay, and not turn a straw to increase it. If he is segregated, jim-crowed and disfranchised, he is all the more happy to be without the responsibility that these rights might involve upon him; if he has a quarter, until that quarter is gone, he does not need another one. So on he goes as merry as a lark.

The mayor concluded by saying, "Your race has made wonderful progress, and you have given to us a Booker Washington. A race that can produce such a man is bound to succeed." The mayor is right in his conclusion. The race has made wonderful progress and will continue, but the carrying of the non-militant and well-satisfied masses, is a millstone about the neck of the more aggressive, intelligent, ambitious and thrifty element of our people. It is here that we see

such a great need for education, for, indeed, education creates desires and desires create unrest.

The sane, sober, sensible, manly and courageous leadership is needed to lead the masses and calibre of men who may differ with others, but not wish them ill, and plan for their down-fall. Men of character who are fair and square to their fellow men, true and faithful to their people and the cause they represent. It is thru this class of leaders alone that the race may hope to ultimately attain its desired goal, its rightful place.

In political campaigns of which the Leader has been a part, it expressed desire to discuss issues and not delve in mudslinging and personal attacks. Although this paper and its editor have been misunderstood and misrepresented, yesterday and today maligned and unfairly dealt with in an un-just program; with malice toward none, we go on our way settled upon a policy of serving rather than dictating the program of our people here; undetermined, however, to mould the best sentiment. A sentiment between races that will not have a tendency to incite trouble, but to develop more cordial and happy relationship. The Mayor and Chief of Police have the unstinted support and co-operation of the Leader in their effort to suppress vice and crime.

Breaking the law and getting into Court is news, and the news will be dishished without fear or favor. We shall speak against wrong, and for t and justice, thru columns that shall never be the tool of any set o th individuals or "unscrupulous politicians."

(Reprinted by request.)

Some one said, "everything is fair in politics." This may be true in some cases among some people. It may serve a purpose with good result in the politics of today among those people who have reached the place in civilization, and among nations where little is lost whatever the course. But with Negroes everything is not fair and should not exist in politics in anything else. There should be and must be limitations, especially among those who have the leadership of a race, fighting for its place, in their hands.

A difference of opinion among leaders of any people is expected, whether on political, educational, religious or business issues, but there should be getting together of these leaders of opposite views, at some point on vital questions effecting the whole race, problems needing the attention of a solid leadership.

One set of Negroes may be expected to line up against another in serious and earnest combat over an issue effecting both the race and community, but in no case should the difference of opinion cause one set of leaders to stoop to the lowest depths, and resort to any trick to accomplish an end and defeat a fellow leader. For all Negroes placed in

position of leadership, and have the interest of the race at heart, and intelligence of the conditions under which we live, are trying to accomplish the same thing, the ultimate attainment of all things the Negro is entitled to as human American citizens; life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Conservatism or radicalism in the extreme is detrimental to our cause, regardless of the motives of those advocates of either. This is no time for stand-patters and moral cowards, those who think as slaves and act as slaves. That class of leaders who conspire against others who attempt to help the race, those who would ditch the race to get their personal mitts washed and have the nomenclature of "good nigger" will ever keep up trouble.

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CARROLL M. HOLLYSTON.

New York City, July 25.

REFUSES TO SING "OLD BLACK JOE" AND "DIXIE"

MUSICIANS REFUSE TO
PLAY "OLD BLACK
JOE AND "DIXIE."

BALTIMORE, Md., Aug. 5.—Fredrick Huber, director of Thomas' Concert Band, one of the most popular entertainment institutions in this city, has established a new policy for future programs. Director Huber wrote a

the effect that he was going to change his programme features because he had noticed that his audiences did not join heartily in the singing of plantation melodies and slavery time songs and that in some instances the song "Dixie" was hooted and jeered.

Makes New Program

In place of Dixie, Old Black Joe, Swanee River and Massa's In De Cold, Cold Ground New Songs Like Smiles, Silver Threads Among the Gold, Till We Meet Again will be substituted. In all of these songs writes Mr. Huber the audiences will be asked to join in and sing these substitutes for the unpopular melodies.

PAINFUL BUT TRUE
Mayor John D. Durkan, of

Seranton, Pennsylvania, in welcoming the delegates and visitors of the Knights of Pythias Grand Lodge Session, being held in that city, diverged from the propriety of the occasion to give a little advice and speak of some of the shortcomings of the Negro, which he vouchsafed in the following words: "The trouble is that the Negro is not sufficiently militant; you are too good-natured and easily satisfied; you seem to prefer progress along the line of least resistance."

The Mayor illustrated his point by telling of a little incident, which happened to a party visiting in the South. He said a friend asked a little colored boy if he did not want to earn a quarter. The boy shrugged his shoulders and replied, "No, boss, I have got a quarter."

While the expressions of the Mayor may not be very pleasing to some of us, we may as well admit the facts, for he hit the nail squarely on the head.

The first statement, which says that the Negro is not sufficiently militant, was true to the letter, and while there is some justification for a Negro's timidity and timidity, he does not exercise a sufficiently militant spirit to force himself along progressive lines as fast as he might go. It is also true that certain conditions, which the Negro faces, necessarily keep him to a very great extent on the defensive; but there is wide latitude for a more offensive practice of a righteous force, which is solely lacking. It may be agreed that he has fought valiantly to overcome all too evident discrimination, and proscriptions; but we do contend that there is plenty of

room for more aggressiveness.

The second statement mentioned by the Mayor, that is, "You are too good-natured and easily satisfied," may be viewed from more than one angle. We do not know just what the Mayor had in mind in his reference to the good-naturedness of our people, but it is true that good nature might be as much a virtue as an evil, and in the light of that fact, we regard the good-naturedness of the Negro, as we see it, as both, because its presence in some of us is dominated by a spirit of goodness, while in others, it is a result of fear. With reference to our being too easily satisfied, we could find no argument against that expression, for the Negro is the most satisfied person on God's whole earth, regardless of what his condition might be. It appears that it is an extremely difficult task to arouse the Negro to increase his desires. The masses of Negroes belong to the "hand-to-mouth" type; they are satisfied at just keeping body and soul together; they have no aims, no ambitions; they live by the day, that is, happy if I can get by today; to hell with tomorrow, it can stand for itself. If the average Negro can get enough to eat and a few clothes, he is as happy as a jaybird in whistling time; if he lives in an alley, in smothering, unsanitary conditions, he is content to remain there; if his wage is only \$10.00 per week, he will work one hundred years for the same pay, and not turn a straw to increase it. If he is segregated, jim-crowed and disfranchised, he is all the more happy to be without the responsibility that these rights might involve upon him; if he has a quarter, until that quarter is gone, he does not need another one. So on he goes as merry as a lark.

The mayor concluded by saying, "Your race has made wonderful progress, and you have given to us a Booker Washington. A race that can produce such a man is bound to succeed." The mayor is right in his conclusion. The race has made wonderful progress and will continue, but the carrying of the non-militant and well-satisfied masses, is a millstone about the neck of the more aggressive, intelligent, ambitious and thrifty element of our people. It is here that we see

such a great need for education, for, indeed, education creates desire and desires create unrest.

The sane, sober, sensible, manly and courageous leadership is needed. A class and calibre of men who may differ with others, but not wish them ill luck, and plan for their down-fall. Men of character who are fair and square with their fellow men, true and faithful to their people and the cause they represent. It is thru this class of leaders alone that the race may hope to ultimately attain its desired goal, its rightful place.

In political campaigns of which the Leader has been a part, it expressed its desire to discuss issues and not delve in mudslinging and personal attacks. And though this paper and its editor have been mis-understood and misrepresented, yesterday and today maligned and unfairly dealt with in an unlimited program; with malice toward none, we go on our way settled upon our policy of serving rather than dictating the program of our people here; determined, however, to mould the best sentiment. A sentiment between the races that will not have a tendency to incite trouble, but to develop a more cordial and happy relationship. The Mayor and Chief of Police shall have the unstinted support and co-operation of the Leader in their effort to suppress vice and crime.

Breaking the law and getting into Court is news, and the news will be published without fear or favor. We shall speak against wrong, and for right and justice, thru columns that shall never be the tool of any set of selfish individuals or "unscrupulous politicians."

Conservatism or radicalism in the extreme is detrimental to our cause, regardless of the motives of those advocates of either. This is no time for stand-patters and moral cowards, those who think as slaves and act as slaves. That class of leaders who conspire against others who attempt to help the race, those who would ditch the race to get their personal mitts eased and have the nomen of "good nigger" will ever keep up trouble

(Reprinted by request.)

Some one said, "everything is fair in politics." This may be true in some cases among some people. It may serve a purpose with good result in the politics of today among those people who have reached the place of civilization, and among nations where little is lost whatever the course. But with Negroes everything is not fair and should not exist in politics anything else. There should be and must be limitations, especially among those who have the leadership of a race, fighting for its place, in their hands.

A difference of opinion among leaders of any people is expected, whether on political, educational, religious or business issues, but there should be getting together of these leaders of opposite views, at some point on vital questions effecting the whole race, problems needing the attention of a solid leadership.

One set of Negroes may be expected to line up against another in serious and earnest combat over an issue effecting both the race and community, but in no case should the difference of opinion cause one set of leaders to stoop to the lowest depths, and resort to any trick to accomplish an end and defeat a fellow leader. For all Negroes placed in position of leadership, and have the interest of the race at heart, and intelligence of the conditions under which we live, are trying to accomplish the same thing, the ultimate attainment of all things the Negro is entitled to as human American citizens; life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—justice.

Conservatism or radicalism in the extreme is detrimental to our cause, regardless of the motives of those advocates of either. This is no time for stand-patters and moral cowards, those who think as slaves and act as slaves. That class of leaders who conspire against others who attempt to help the race, those who would ditch the race to get their personal mitts eased and have the nomen of "good nigger" will ever keep up trouble

Race Problem—1922 United States.

FRENCH OKEY COLORED OFFICERS FOR ARMY
Paris, France, Oct. 15.—The French Army Commission is planning to open a military school for colored students from the interior of Africa as well as Tunis, Algeria and Morocco. They will then become officers at the head of colored troops or white troops where ever assigned.

FRENCH NEGROES SHUN "PAN-BLACK" REVOLT

Chicago Daily News
Are Opposed to Uprising
Preached by Moscow Communists Leaders Say.

11-23-22
BY WILLIAM E. NASH.

SPECIAL CABLE
To The Chicago Daily News Foreign Service.
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Paris, France, Nov. 23.—French negroes will take no part in the pan-black revolution preached at the recent meeting of the communist internationale in Moscow, according to M. Candace, a colored deputy to the French parliament from the island of Guadeloupe.

"They know that the bolsheviks wish to use them for their own purposes," says M. Candace. "As soon as they had done their work the communists would abandon them to white dictators. Among the negroes represented in Moscow those of American nationality formed by far the largest part because they represent the most dissatisfied element of the negro race. We have heard that the black man's life in the United States is surrounded by hundreds of vexatious restrictions. In France it is different. Here the color line does not exist and negroes enjoy equality in law as well as in fact."

Toussaint L'Ouverture Recalled.

M. Candace is one of the ablest orators in the French parliament. For years he has been a member of the chamber of deputies from the West Indies. With a broad, high forehead, deep bass voice and a profusion of hirsute adornment on his face, he reminds one somewhat of the famous black leader Toussaint L'Ouverture, who founded the republic of Haiti. He has become a well-known figure in France.

Braise Diagne, deputy from West Africa, a colleague of M. Candace, has hard words to say against the pan-African agitation initiated by Marcus Garvey in the United States. A federation of negro republics in Africa would be impossible, he says, because it would have to bring together peoples as different as the British and the French. Nevertheless the idea is dangerous for France, he declares.

Both Candace and Diagne believe that the future of the negro race lies in intellectual development under the protection of Caucasian nations. The negroes may be backward, but they are not inferior. Since the beginning of history many other nations, they assert, have risen from a backward to a superior civilized condition.

Ban Revolutionary Movement.

Pan-African congresses, such as that which took place in Paris last year and that which will be held in Paris next year, are considered useful in the development of the negro race. Only revolutionary movements like that patronized by Moscow are banned.

STRATON DECRIES RACE PREJUDICES

New York Times
Thinks Protestants Should
Clean House Before Wash-
ing Up Neighbors.

12-18-22
ADVISES MORE HUMILITY

Finds Mammon Worship, Self-Indulgence and Worldliness Are
Common Evils.

Protestant Christianity should "clean house behind our own doors before we sally forth to wash up our neighbors," the Rev. Dr. John Roach Straton said last night, in a sermon at the Calvary Baptist Church. His subject was, "Can New York Protestants handle the Jewish and Catholic Questions in the More Excellent Way?" Deploping racial prejudices and urging "fair play," Dr. Straton assailed Protestantism in New York, asserting that "some of our leading churches and preachers even are trying now to dance their young people into the Kingdom of God."

"How can we expect to very much in the matter of winning other sects to true Christianity," said Dr. Straton, "when many of our well known laymen seem utterly given over to mammon worship and the search after self indulgent pleasures, and when many of our church women are dressing like pagans and dancing like heathens and establishing a divorce record that is the scandal of the world, and advertising balls in the name of charity and religion, at which girls from the 'Midnight Frolic'—the silliest and most sensuous side of the modern theatre—are brought in as a part of the entertainment?"

Humanity Is Needed, He Says.

"What have we to offer to those of other religions when some of our women's missionary societies even have become so filled with the spirit of word-

liness that they will entertain foreign missionaries, home on furlough by carrying them to the silly, sensuous, commercialized, Sabbath-breaking theatres of New York, and when some church women, who are world famous because of their wealth and their social position, have not only made a spectacle of themselves recently by attending prize fights, but have actually worked up prize fights and have praised these exhibitions of blood and brutality in the public prints?"

"What the Protestants of New York need to do is to humble themselves under the mighty hand of God."

The speaker said that the exercise of religious rights must be upheld, but all the forces of Protestantism must "resist religious tyranny and the infringement by any sect or creed upon the liberties and rights of their fellow-men."

"Now, it is the contention of many patriotic and earnest people today that some of our most cherished American principles are being endangered through the prostitution of the forces of religion to political ends," he continued. "For one thing, it is claimed that there is a deliberate and calculated effort in this country to overthrow the principle of the separation of Church and State and to establish in America a religious and political domination, with its headquarters in a foreign country."

"If it is true that there is such a movement on, then there is a call to every patriotic citizen of every race, color or creed to resist any such encroachment with all of the means and resources at his command."

"And in this connection, my friends, for one, I wish to say that I think the time has come when we ought to see an end of mob tyranny in New York, which is inspired by defeated foreign religious radicals and revolutionists. When mobs are allowed to wreck our club buildings and defy and defeat the police and rule our streets, then the limit of patience has been reached and the time for emphatic protest and energetic action has arrived."

Klan Not the Solution.

In referring to the Ku Klux Klan Dr. Straton declared that there were more excellent ways than the Klan's methods of correcting the evils of today.

"We simply cannot afford in this country," said Mr. Straton, "to split up into groups and factions and classes and cliques and secret societies and begin to cut each others' throats. We have in America the elements for the development of mutually antagonistic groups of people that are sufficiently strong and numerous even in time to make separate nations here upon this continent. We have here just such peoples as did grow into the different nations of Europe, for example, and some of the same forces that brought into being those mutually antagonistic groups are now operating here."

"Here, for example, are 10,000,000 negroes, and already the destructive forces of bolshevism and Red revolution are at work among them. It is entirely conceivable that under such wrong leadership and through resentment of unfair and harsh treatment at the hands of the whites actual strife might finally break out and the negroes might draw together, segregate themselves, and become a separate nation on this continent. The same thing is at least conceivable for the Catholic, the Protestant group and the Jewish group in our country. I suggest this possibility for the future to show that the spirit of unity which was the centre of the struggle in the Civil War time is now at least in danger by these new developments that make for the disruption of unity and the promotion of the spirit of misunderstanding, hatred and strife."

Westbrooks to Aid Law in Illinois

12-9-22
State's Attorney Robert E. Crook has added to his legal staff as an assistant Attorney Richard E. Westbrooks.



Mr. Westbrooks

John Marshall Law school, Chicago and graduated with the degree LL.B. He has served as general counsel to various enterprises and was one of the original founders of the Cook County Bar association of which he was elected president.

Recently he received the appointment as resident consul of that country in the city of Chicago. In 1921 he has been inheritance tax collector for Cook county. His appointment to the position of assistant state's attorney received the sanction of both the bench and bar.

CONGRESS OF NEGRO Report at Russian Meet Urges New Organization

Associated Press
MOSCOW, Nov. 26.—A congress of negroes of the world, either at Moscow or somewhere in the United States for the purpose of bettering themselves and asserting their rights, was posed before the Third International which has devoted several days to question of the negroes. A sub-committee, which dealt with negro affairs, recommended the calling of a new congress, but the Internationale not yet approved the report.

Two negroes, one of them an American delegate, addressed the Internationale. The latter asserted that the form of slavery exists today in the southern states and that American negroes are in a most unhappy condition, partly due to capitalists using them as strike-breakers, when trouble arises with unions.

THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE ON THE RACE QUESTION

THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE is supposed to be a Republican newspaper. This supposition would be more accurate if the world Republican were omitted, because half the time it is on the fence on party measures and it woefully fails to observe party principles, to say nothing of the fact that in its editorial utterances as well as in its news columns racial antipathy is unquestionably displayed. Occasionally an editorial appears which is intended to treat the race question with fairness and impartiality, but the writers of such editorials seemingly are so thoroughly imbued with racial bias as to destroy what would otherwise be a beneficial article.

FOR EXAMPLE, the fracas that took place in Lincoln park was reported in its news columns as an incipient race riot resulting from gross misconduct on the part of a few Colored men towards some whites, one of whom, a white woman, was alleged to have been insulted by one of the Colored men. When the participants were brought to trial the facts developed were just the opposite of what the Tribune reported. Two white men were convicted and fined and the Colored man was promptly discharged.

IF TWO SCHOOL BOYS should get into a street fight and one should happen to be white and the other black the Tribune will be sure to magnify it into a race conflict. If some of the white criminals should dynamite the home of a Colored family that fact is held up as typifying the attitude of the white race toward the Colored race. The Ku Klux Klan is an organization the avowed purpose of which is to create and intensify racial prejudice and religious intolerance, and this every American knows to be at war with the fundamental principles and doctrines of our governmental system.

SUCH AN ORGANIZATION should not only be denounced by every decent and respectable newspaper in the land, but it should not be allowed to purchase advertising space in any of them; yet the Tribune not only permitted itself to be the medium through which this vicious and pernicious organization purchased advertising space, but the editorial and news references to this organization are couched in language both mild and temperate. Perhaps it does not occur to the editors of the Tribune that its attitude and utterances along the lines referred to are accepted by the criminal classes of all races as suggestions the effect of which is to encourage and promote, rather than discourage and prevent, the very things which it professes to deprecate and denounce.

IT IS AN UNDENIABLE FACT that there are good and bad in all races and groups, but fortunately the undesirables are the exception and not the rule. It is a common occurrence to witness exhibitions of rudeness on our street cars, but the participants are not confined to any one race; yet the readers of the Tribune would doubtless come to the conclusion that offenders are all of the Colored Race. The members of our group are not fools. They know they have everything to lose and nothing to gain by cultivating racial antipathy, and everything to gain and nothing to lose by cultivating cordial, amicable and friendly relations among all races and groups of which our citizenship is composed, but in doing this it is not necessary that they should be subservient and quietly submit to wrongs, injustices and inferior treatment.

THEY ARE clearly within their rights in insisting upon having the same privileges that are enjoyed by other citizens. The Tribune seems not only to countenance methods that are calculated to create racial antipathy but to boldly advocate, defend and support the nullification of the federal Constitution by the Southern oligarchies for the suppression of the Colored vote in that section upon the false, absurd and ridiculous plea that it is necessary to maintain "white supremacy" and prevent "Negro domination." Its influence in the Republican party is so potential that it has succeeded in a large measure in causing that

party, and especially this administration, to repudiate and abandon the fundamental principles and doctrines that heretofore commended that party to the approbation and support of the American electorate.

AS ANOTHER EVIDENCE of the Tribune's subtle way of suggestion we find a map of Chicago on its pages showing only the sections in which members of our group in recent years have located. Why point out where we live any more than where the Jews, Poles, Germans, Irish, Scandinavians or any other group resides if not for the purpose of inciting and engendering race prejudice? If our group is so inferior, so weak, and those to whom the Tribune speaks are so superior and so strong, it would seem that they could afford to pass us by in silence; or if they really are what they claim to be and condescend to take any notice of us at all, they would be in the attitude of the strong and the superior lending a helping hand and giving words of encouragement to the weak and the inferior, instead of contributing to a sentiment that has a tendency to widen the breach between these two elements.

TURKEY VERSUS TEXAS.

Dallas Express - Dallas, Tex.

For more than a few years the sympathies of enlightened and supposedly Christian nations have been aroused by news of the atrocities of the Turks who because of their barbarous treatment of the Armenians, have become known as "unspeakable." Tons of sob producing literature have been broadcast in behalf of the unfortunate victims of their bestiality and hundreds of thousands of dollars contributed to their relief. And Christian America, leading in the contributions, has patted herself upon a figurative back and assumed the "I thank Fate that I'm above them" attitude.

But is she?

Last week in a city of Texas hundreds of Mexican and Negro laborers were terrified, employers hampered by a lack of their labor, schools for Negroes were closed and hundreds of citizens forced to flee before the threat of a band who declared their presence undesirable. The affair reached the ears of the Mexican consul who took steps to invoke the remonstrance of his government at the terrorism of its citizens. The national government was appealed to and now the Governor of the state has sent Rangers to preserve peace in the city.

How much worse is Turkey?

To those who would contend that Turkish atrocities have lasted over a longer period of years, one might cite case upon case of lynching and terrorism, those in which actual murder took place number more than 3000, which have transpired in America in the past thirty years. Often whole communities, nearly always Negroes, have been broken up and the inhabitants forced amid fire, shot and other instruments of destruction to seek refuge in "other" sections.

That these instances are not so well or generally known may be attributed to the fact that no international complications have arisen as a result of them and the great American conscience, lacking propaganda conducive to arousing its sympathies, has remained untouched.

Were it possible to assume that the State of Texas was alone in the practice of such brutalities, it might seem more easy to

invoke the aid of her sister states in her correction; but unfortunately this cannot be done. West, East, North and all over the South instances of the existence of a love of brutality as it can be practised with impunity upon ones usually defenceless neighbors may be found. It takes the aspect of a general American spirit.

This aspect is made possible by the feeling of impotence which the better thinking members of the public seem to feel when they consider it. They are both to attempt its control.

But continued recurrence of such acts soon must lead to the realization that something definite, even drastic must be done if our national life and honor are to be maintained.

It is easy to vision the smile of satisfaction which must make itself evident upon the features of even "the unspeakable Turk" when the truth about America is told him. Truly it seems that some of our states are seeking to vie with him in deeds of frightfulness.

One who contrasts the action of Americans at home with their splendid help in relieving the distressed of other lands must feel as did those who on a memorable occasion said "He saved others but himself he cannot save."

Hundreds of thousands of Russians now live as the result of American contribution and help. China, the Armenians—in fact, all who have suffered have had a claim upon her bounty. She even entered the World War to "make the world safe for Democracy," a thing in which she evidently believed for others but which cannot maintain within her own borders.

It is a consideration which must cause a wave of self-pity to come over those who fully appreciate the actual condition to which the latest happening in Texas gives rise.

Where will the end be? Will this condition continue to obtain in greater degree or will forces at its control arise surely and work effectively for its change?

Nothing but a general change of heart and sentiment will suffice to remove it. Its roots run deep and its destruction must be accomplished by reversing the teachings of more than a single generation.

ARMS AND THE "COP."

Since the assassination of a distinguished military commander on the streets of London recently the fact that the police of the British metropolis are not permitted to carry weapons more deadly than a "billy" or a nightstick has been a subject for world-wide comment. Obviously, it is very seldom that a London policeman needs a pistol in the discharge of his duties; otherwise he would, of course, be permitted to carry one.

But in American cities it is different.

Where crime is so prevalent, and where practically no restrictions are placed upon the carrying of deadly weapons by citizens irrespective of age, color, nationality, temperament or moral character, as is the case in most American cities, our peace officers are compelled to go armed for their own protection

against the armed criminal element.

Our police must carry side arms and be prepared at all times for battle, for the reasons set forth in the following illuminating editorial that appeared in a recent issue of Collier's Weekly: 11-7-22

Even when guarding an official whose life has been threatened, the London cop does not carry a gun. Observers arguing the matter talk race prejudice, temperament, hoodlumism, respect for law, etc., and miss the nub of the whole thing, law enforcement. A man who commits murder in England has about one month to live, and he dies at the end of a rope. Vast areas of Canada north of us are safer from crime than many streets in Chicago and New York. The law up there will track a criminal for weary months, try him in a few swift, just hours, and then punishment follows. The prison population of England has fallen off by two-thirds in the last half century.

An American engineer of our acquaintance travels as a Britisher in the wilds of Mexico and Africa simply because he knows from experience that he is safer. In 1916 there were 7,667 "culpable homicides" (murders) committed in the United States; in England and Wales there were 83. In 1917 there were 89 murders in the city of Detroit alone, and Detroit is not a very bad town. Delay, sentimentality, legal tricks, and technicalities breed crime and murder. As long as we complicate and bedevil the enforcement of the law, our police must go armed. The gun is all they have.

Once the American public awakens to the real seriousness of the crime situation here; after we stop the indiscriminate traffic in deadly weapons, and when we disarm the criminal element and our "pistol toters" of criminal inclinations—every one of whom is potentially a man-killer—then it may be safe and expedient for us to disarm our policemen.

But not before!

Race Problem—1922 United States.

BOSTON MASS. C. S. MONITOR
NOVEMBER 24, 1922

White Teacher of Negroes Compelled to Break With Racial Prejudice and Social Inheritance

THE state of depravity from which I was rescued may be described as a condition of extreme race hatred engendered from having been born in a former slave holding state, and extreme class consciousness fostered as an adjunct to the overcrowded curriculum of a girls' fashionable school. Inheritance provided an abundance of self-will which environmental influence of a doting family easily raised to an exaggerated ego. In such a self-complacent atmosphere, an unthinking girlhood was passed.

The brilliant, burning light in the pathway which startled me out of this self-righteousness came in the form of a sudden collapse of the family fortunes. This instrument of fate necessitated the engaging in some remunerative employment, a task difficult of accomplishment to one having nothing to offer but pedigree and the education received in a girls' school. It did not take long to find out how little these were esteemed in the world of business. These were startling discoveries and the new birth into other ways of thinking and other criteria of worth was attended with many groanings and much travailing of spirit.

Certain Truths Made Plain

Emerging at last a chastened but a wiser woman, the realization of certain truths was impressed almost too forcibly upon me. Among these new viewpoints, two were outstanding, that the best thinkers and the most socially minded people in the nation had neither race nor class prejudice; the most ignorant and provincial minded were eaten up with both.

Cherishing still the belief that the best was none too good for one of my inheritance, there remained nothing to do, if I remained true to that inheritance, but to relinquish both prejudices. In the privacy of one's own room, there seemed to be nothing easier. To put the conviction into open practice was quite another matter. Perhaps such a demonstration of a change of heart might never have been made had not a combination of circumstances led to the offer of a post as instructor in a college for Negroes. As this call provided an opportunity to show intellectual honesty, a gift of which I was exceedingly proud, I went.

The Winning of Interracial Confidence

To act from disinterested and im-

personal motives is one thing, to make others believe in those motives is decidedly another. This I was not slow in finding out. Although entering upon my work with no motive beyond a sincere desire to train teachers to do good work, coupled with the determination never to explain anything in terms of race until every other explanation had been exhausted, a last resort, by the way, to which I was never driven, yet I found that the handicap of my race kept the pupils and my fellow workers from appreciating either motive. They were so accustomed to looking upon a white face as indicative of oppression, especially if it were a woman's, that they simply classed the new teacher with her race, drew the shades upon their inner selves and shut her out.

It was a new and not very pleasant experience. If I met one of the students in the city, he looked the other way. If we happened to be on the same car, he walked to the front of the car, turned his back and alighted a block or two before reaching the college. If I joined a student on the campus he quickly had urgent business in the other direction. All of this was done with so much courtesy and suavity of manner that no possible offense could be taken. It was simply the protective coloring of a highly sensitive race protecting itself from what had become the usual procedure in that situation. It was four years before the barriers were broken down and the frank surprise at this achievement on the part of some older members of the race, measured the extent of the victory. Then the devotion and gratitude shown me humbled me to the dust. It did seem too grave an indictment of the national life for anyone to be grateful just for being treated like a human being!

Through the Looking Glass

Then it was that a new world opened before me. The experience of entering this world was just like going with Alice through the Looking Glass. Everything was seen from the other side. All events happened contrariwise. Instead of a world where opportunity was limited largely by personality, there was a world colored entirely by limitations outside of personality, chiefly those imposed by race. Instead of freedom of choice to choose one's goings and comings, there were restrictions on all sides. Not only was one not urged to join societies and clubs, one was not admitted to their august gatherings even as a guest. The care-free, matter of

course attendance on theaters, concerts and museums did not exist. One stayed at home rather than run the risk of some unpleasant occurrence. Liberty and democracy suggested hypocrisy rather than a taken-for-granted attitude of mind. Christianity itself, or rather the church, had a sere and yellow look. Self-denial and steadiness of purpose became stern realities instead of pretty tricks of fancy with which to embroider one's dinner conversation. What mattered affairs of state and nation to those shut in a looking glass, peering out at the back side of the world? In such an atmosphere, teaching became a difficult task calling for many men-teacher.

In the beginning I used to say, "There is a splendid play on at the theater, you cannot afford to miss it," and wondered at their indifference. After a while they said, "We are not allowed to go!" I spoke of the biennial exhibit of contemporary artists. The reply came reluctantly, "But people stare so!" I mentioned the menace of Muhammadanism with its savage cruelties but paused in the midst of a sentence for I read in their faces "Haiti." The world was ringingsome day it would bring me back to the fold. Still others considered such action as an unexplainable vagary which they overlooked because they liked me personally. To just a handful was the insight given to see that there was no mystery about it. They really grasped the fact that I was just one human being teaching other human beings, and if going through the looking-glass was necessary for effective work, then through the glass I must go. Just one friend grasped my entire point of view. She said, "Do you not feel sorry for the folks who do not know colored people? They lose so much."

White Speakers Who Insult

Perhaps the most curious phenomenon seen from the other side of the glass was the speakers who came so frequently to talk at the chapel hour. The student body had been insulted so many times by members of the white race (insulted I mean in the looking glass sense for the speakers had no such intention, that their patient, hopeful attention was always staggering. The speakers themselves were so perfectly oblivious to any faux pas which they might make; their sense of racial superiority was so strong, that they had no idea that what they meant for urbanity or moral suasion would be taken for arrogance or unforgivable ignorance. It became quite a game to watch for the moment when the speaker lost his audience.

To congratulate them upon their point of view, engenders a feeling of aloofness from the thought of the majority. Sometimes I felt as if I were living on a solitary island or rather on a mountain peak—for an exaggerated ego dies hard—calling to people across a vast chasm. It was not difficult to lose enthusiasm for the catchwords of the hour—democracy, justice for all, equal suffrage, equal opportunities—knowing that a dark skin or when this was not present the fetish of race would debar anyone from each and all of them. I was out of touch with the race to which I belonged by birth and tradition and an outsider to the group with which so much of my time was spent. I became quite indifferent to the opinions of others since they seemed so indifferent and irrational in respect to my daily work. Spending all of my working days in opposition to the majority, my attitude of mind became very much like that of the proverbial man from Missouri. I was willing to be shown but took nothing on trust. Having conquered my own greatest limitations, the handicaps of tradition and environment, my tendency was always toward a feeling of contempt for anyone who did not desire to do likewise. This attitude was suggestive of intolerance and hardness toward those guilty of these especial weaknesses of race and class. Words of the hour such as making the world safe for democracy or democratizing education, left me cold if the speaker did not measure up to my criterion of worth and few of them did. In short I lived a double life. My working hours colored with the viewpoint of the disfranchised, my leisure hours carefree and privileged. Disillusioned and skeptical of the honesty of my own race, disappointed in even the most idealistic, I seemed out of touch with all the world, painfully so it seemed, for to be constantly in opposition is a strain of the severest kind. But intellectual honesty demands a high price and nothing less would satisfy.

M. M.

Hard for Many to Understand

A looking-glass point of view is difficult, nay, even impossible, for one's friends to grasp. Some friends felt that I was on missionary endeavor intent and for this was to be commended. Others felt that my teachings in a Negro college and the faint glimpse of the looking-glass which they sensed rather than saw showed a dangerous tendency toward radicalism. This they deplored, but excused on account of the family connection, hoping that some day it would bring me back to the fold. Still others considered such action as an unexplainable vagary which they overlooked because they liked me personally. To just a handful was the insight given to see that there was no mystery about it. They really grasped the fact that I was just one human being teaching other human beings, and if going through the looking-glass was necessary for effective work, then through the glass I must go. Just one friend grasped my entire point of view. She said, "Do you not feel sorry for the folks who do not know colored people? They lose so much."

Just what was the price of this attempt to understand another race, slight though the understanding might be? Well, there was a price exacted, and sometimes it seemed a high one. At others the gains seemed to far outnumber the losses. As the work was in a by-path of the educational field, all avenues of advancement were closed to me. This was not of intention, but advancement comes only to those who are known and who are in the line of promotion.

To Become a Part of the Minority

To spend all of one's working days with a disfranchised race, to think their thoughts and to sympathize with

CLARIFYING A COLOR LINE

UNIONTOWN PA FIVE SENIOR
NOVEMBER 20, 1922

The conception of a "white" race involves a loose and inaccurate description in respect to color. There are Sicilians and there are Berbers in Africa, unmistakably members of the same race as the bulk of Western Europe, who are far darker than any Japanese or Chinese or Hindu. As a matter of fact the anthropologists have found no good term to include such diverse peoples as blend and narrow-skulled Norsemen, broad-headed Swiss and Slavs and dark and narrow-skulled Portuguese.

But the name and the details of definition are not of the first importance. For practical purposes the word "white," as included in our citizenship law and now interpreted by the Supreme Court, in its obvious intent represents roughly but fairly one of the great cleavages in the human family. If man first developed somewhere in the highlands that lie between Asia and Europe, as is the working hypothesis of many anthropologists, one of the earliest divisions was among the men who wandered southwest into Africa, the men who went west in Europe and the men who spread eastward into what is now China. The negro, the Caucasian and the Mongol were the result. Thousands of years of different environment have bred innumerable varieties of stature, skull shape and skin color. The deep original cleaving remains.

There is as yet no scientific basis whatever for deciding whether cross breeding between these great race produces a good type of man or not. Anthropology is one of the youngest sciences and its speculations constantly tend to outrun its facts. Until science does reach a conclusion on this knotty point it would be the wildest folly for man to go counter to his instincts facing this question of race. These instincts are unquestionably the best wisdom that we have.

But to concede the sound basis for still holding America to the conception of a white race is not to make the slightest claim for white superiority. That is the point which Americans must first understand and then make clear to the Japanese. The more Americans know and study the Orient, its art, its philosophy, the solid character of its peoples, the less they will be tempted to make easy assertions of superiority. Obviously the Western world has made enormous progress in the last few centuries in things material and scientific. It is not less clear that in certain fundamentals of character the East has virtues wholly admirable and of vast performance and promise.

We are rejecting for America any attempted fusion between these broad divisions of man loosely tagged yellow and white, not because the yellow

man is inferior but because he is different, separated from our stock by thousands of years and a culture utterly alien to our Western world. If this truth can be made clear alike to Americans and to Japanese such a law as that construed by the Supreme Court need cause no slightest prejudice or race feeling on either side of the Pacific.—New York Tribune.

Race Problem - 1922

United States

RACE LEADERS IN CONFUSION

Atlanta Independent 12-11-22
While leaders fight among themselves, the race's interest suffers. We thank the Lord that we know of our own knowledge that we are not a race leader, and that nobody else accuses us of such. For if there is any term in the economy of Negro life overworked, it is the office of race leader. We do not know from where the thousands of leaders our race has produced got their license, or how they got it into their heads that they were leaders.

The Negro race is the only race that has a leader or leaders. You hear of no leaders among the whites of this country or the people of any other country. Neither the Germans, French, English, Portuguese nor any other race group or nation have leaders except our people. We have as many leaders among us as we have colors. Other races may have political, financial, labor or religious leaders, but no race leaders. And these leaders among other race groups do not attempt to speak for their race, but for a political, industrial or economic school or religious sect.

In America we have first of all the self-constituted appointed leader, who claims to speak for the race. Then, the political self-appointed, who walks around with the vote of his group in his pocket and serves only himself. Then comes the white folks' negro leader, who bows and scrapes to the whims and prejudices of the white man, and is rewarded by the white man designating him as leader. Then comes the thousand and one industrial school leaders, who prey upon the white public for a livelihood by telling the white man he is educating the Negroes to be good servants.

Neither of these groups of self-appointed leaders help the race or contribute anything to the solution of every-day problems affecting Negro life.

The following are the groups of leaders which are destroying the solidarity of the race in this country by reason of fights for supremacy among themselves:

First comes the political leader—the little Negro boss who plays to the republican party that "we are the leaders and can control our group." This group camps around Washington, plays the senators and congressmen during the sessions and the public during vacations. They rank in importance among themselves as named: Henry Lincoln Johnson, Perry W. Howard, and Robert R. Church. This trio considers themselves the political spokesmen of the race through whom all patronage must come and if the administration recognizes anybody else, it is an insult to them.

Then comes the race fire brands and agitators. Among whom are William Monroe Trotter, W. J. Jernagin, and Joe Bibb. This bunch is at variance with every other bunch in the country, and fight and criticise everything the other groups do.

Then comes the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which claims of right the exclusive right to handle all questions affecting the race, and takes offense if anybody else undertakes to help the race along except through their agency, and positively refuses to work with or co-operate with any other group of race leaders. They style themselves as the classic of race agitators and solvers of problems. If they cannot settle a problem, themselves, they would rather it would go unsettled than for anybody else to have anything to do with it.

Then comes the Tuskegee influence, which is selected by the white influences of the country, north and south, as the standard of Negro possibility and the ideal of Negro development and capacity to do from the white man's view point. This group takes the credit for every

political consideration extended the race by the Harding administration.

Then comes the aristocracy of all the leadership, which undertakes to set the standard high. Among the leaders in this exclusive group are Dr. Emmett J. Scott, Wm. L. Houston, James A. Cobb and W. H. Lewis. Essentially this group is not politicians and are not looking for anything for themselves; but contribute in a way to help keep confusion confounded among the several groups of leaders, and naturally find themselves together as a logical sequence growing out of the absolute and signal failure of the other groups to function helpfully for the race.

While these groups sit around among themselves, each complimenting itself because of its mastery of the situation and its special fitness and great ability to handle all racial problems, and criticising the other because of its brazen unfitness, the race's interest goes to the bad in congress; the republican party completes the work of disfranchisement begun in the country by the democrats; the Negro loses his standing as a political factor, north, south, east and west, while the groups of self-appointed scramble among themselves for office, each with the motto hanging out, "If I can't, you sha'n't;" if we cannot put it over, you shall not put it over; if the other gang is to get credit for the Dyer Bill being passed, we would rather see it defeated. We have done much and sacrificed much for the republican party in the race, and the sum total of what the groups have done and the sacrifices they have made are summed up as follows:

First, we have made the sacrifice for the last quarter of a century of receiving thousands of dollars in slush funds for campaign expenses from candidates at National Conventions quadriennially.

Second, we have made the sacrifice of accepting offices from the republican party at fat salaries for the last quarter of a century.

Third, we have sacrificed ourselves to receive all the party places and political offices in our state to the exclusion of everybody in the party but ourselves for the last quarter of a century.

Fourth, we have taken all the offices for our dear selves and given our constituency nothing, have been silent every time the public tit was put in our mouths, the interests of our constituents and our promises to them, notwithstanding. We have made the sacrifice of taking everything we could and giving nobody anything. We have taken all the money, all the jobs and all the party places, and when it got to the place where we could not get anything, we traded the lily whites, in order to boost up our fallen cause. Verily, we have been burdened by accepting everything in reach ourselves and giving nothing to our friends.

WHITE BALLOTS AND BLACK LABOR

BY PROF. JOHN C. ADAMS

Establish a literacy test for voters and make it compulsory that black labor shall be paid as much as white labor for the same amount and quality of work.

10/14/22 Saturday Blade
MORE than a thousand suggestions for the solution of the race problem in the United States, submitted by Blade readers, are summarized in the foregoing paragraph. It is clear these readers realize that the race question has two phases of immediate importance. One is the political phase—permitting persons of alien bloods to vote and have a voice in our Government, regardless of their qualifications. The other phase is economic—the friction growing out of competition between cheap labor and low standards of living on one side, and better paid labor and higher standards of living on the other side.

It is interesting to note that most powerful influence in corrupting government. Blade readers have not declared for a ernment and electing inferior men to a literacy test for negroes alone. The office.

majority have said that the literacy test should be applied to ALL, because, while today the illiterate negro may be the chief menace to our democratic government, it will only be a short time until our illiterate foreign population, voting with no understanding of our traditions and institutions will be a viciously that isn't much of a test, but it

is a beginning, and in time, perhaps, the test will be made more exacting. In the Southern States the qualifications for voting are such that only the more intelligent negro can qualify, and as a result the negro is less of a political problem than in the Northern States where no safeguards are placed about the ballot.

While the qualifications for voters can be handled by State Legislatures and in State constitutions, it would, I believe, be better if we had a National policy with a frank and clear declaration in our Federal Constitution that the United States is a white man's government and that the right to vote shall be limited to white persons who have qualified as citizens. It is far too easy for foreigners to become citizens of the United States, and it seems to me that if we raised the qualifications for citizenship and then limited the right to vote to white persons who are full-fledged citizens, we would solve the political problem of our race question.

The economic problem would remain and it might prove more difficult, because of the fact that we would have an inferior class of labor with no political power, and, therefore, no political weapon to use against the inhuman and unscrupulous men and organizations which might and would endeavor to exploit ignorant negroes and newly arrived foreign whites.

If we agreed that it would be better for the country to make uniform wages for uniform work, regardless of race, compulsory, how would we go about it to make that agreement effective? If you attempt to do so by law you invade the rights of a man to work for whatever he wants and you abridge the right of a man to pay wages according to his judgment of the value of the work performed. Notwithstanding the fact that we have in some States laws fixing the minimum legal wage for certain workers, I do not see how we can eliminate the competition between inferior workers and low living standards, and superior workers and higher living standards, except by entirely eliminating the former.

The negro is not the only group of cheap labor in the United States, but he is the group most difficult to deal with, because it is almost impossible to make of him a superior workman, and it is equally difficult to advance his standard of living. It is his nature to be easily satisfied, and he does not take kindly to hard work or economy today, in order to improve his condition tomorrow.

The poor and ignorant foreigners who come to the United States do show some improvement in this regard from one generation to another. As a rule, the grandchildren of these immigrants approximate American standards in both their work and living, while the negro, generation after generation, continues to have no ambition other than a shelter and food for his immediate need and a passing satisfaction for his appetites and fancies.

This condition may be improved a

little by intensive education, but there is a limit to the possibilities in that field. It may be improved a little by an appeal to the conscience of employers, but here again we must deal with human nature and admit that the likelihood of appreciable improvement is mighty slim, because the conscience of modern industry isn't much to boast of.

The solution of this economic phase of the race question, if there is one, rests in finding some field of labor for which the negro is especially fitted and surrendering that field to him. He can be used to advantage in the Cotton Belt of the United States, under white direction and management, and, perhaps, in that field we will find the ultimate solution of the problem pending the time, if it ever comes, when we are ready to make this a white man's country to the exclusion of all alien bloods.

The program ought to begin, it seems to me, with the elimination of all races other than whites from participation in our political life. The next step would be a gradual elimination of these alien bloods from our economic and industrial activities and the final step would be their permanent elimination as an alien element in white society.

Race history shows that where races mingle there is no racial equality. One race dominates, and if the dominant race does not assert its mastery, it is absorbed. It is much like the lion-trainer and his lion. As long as the trainer has his pistol and his whip he gets on very well with the lion, but if he lays aside these agencies and attempts to deal with the lion as an equal, sooner or later the trainer disappears and you discover the lion, much inflated as to stomach, licking his chops and grinning as if very well satisfied with the theory of equality which enabled him to get rid of his trainer and at the same time enjoy a hearty meal.

SYMPATHY, JUSTICE AND OPPORTUNITY ARE DUE NEGRO CITIZENS

Lowell
President Lowell of Harvard and Other Leaders Speak at Hampton Meeting

11-24-22
Boston, Mass., Nov.—That the so-called "Negro problem" should be studied "as a unique opportunity, an adventure, and a challenge to our democracy and our Christianity, which we should not fear, but for which rather we should give thanks" was the opinion expressed by Dr. James E. Gregg, principal of Hampton Institute, in his recent address delivered in Old South Church, of which Dr. George A. Gordon is the pastor, at a meeting which was held under the auspices of Hampton Association of Massachusetts and was presided over by W. Cameron Forbes.

President A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard University declared that sympathy, justice, and opportunity are due members of the Negro race. Mrs. Henry Lane Schmelz of Hampton, Va., a prominent Southern white woman who is chairman of the Women's

Inter-racial Committee of Virginia outlined the development and work of the Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation throughout the South.

"This adventure of enabling different races to live and work happily together bristles with difficulties," said Doctor Gregg.

"The curse of slavery, ever more harmful to the white plantation owners and slave-breeders and slave traders and merchants in rum, molasses, and cotton who profited financially by it than to the Negro slaves themselves, has left us in the North as well as in the South a tradition of thoughtless injustice, a certain callousness to cruelty, that is amazing and shameful.

"The fact that three scores of our colored fellow-citizens are put to death by mobs every year is the most terrible evidence of this lawlessness. Let me hasten to say that lawlessness has repeatedly been exemplified in the North as well as in the South, and that there are many white men and women of the South who feel the shame of lynching quite as keenly as any people in the North.

"Then there is still in most of the Southern States an inequality in educational privileges which cannot be defended. One State superintendent of public instruction reports that in 1920-21 the public expenditure for the education of white children was \$39.26 per capita and for colored children \$4.84 per capita. Teachers are often under-paid. School terms are often pitifully short. In every State in the South, however, the set of the current, educationally, is toward the improvement of the Negro Schools.

"General Armstrong set out on this adventure of faith, hope, and love more than fifty years ago when he established Hampton Institute as a school in which young men and young women should be trained in head, heart, and hand in mind, conscience, and will for unpretentious, unselfish, trustworthy leadership—to go out and do, as he said, 'a quiet work that shall make the land purer and better.'

PRESIDENT LOWELL PLEADS FOR JUSTICE

President Lowell said: "We owe the Negro sympathy for the years of suffering he has endured and for the handicaps he has been placed under. His aspirations, yes, even his hopes, deserve our sympathy. It is only just that if we are to be of any help in solving the Negro question, we should be first of all in sympathy with the man we are trying to aid. We owe the Negro justice, in every sense of the word. If guilty of a crime in the eyes of the law, he must be punished—but punished by criminal justice and not by the false standards of criminal justice set up by mob violence."

Discussing the opportunity that should be given the Negro, President Lowell quoted Booker T. Washing-

ton's declaration that the Negro should be given the opportunity "to achieve anything he can prove himself capable of achieving."

"The Negro should be given the opportunity to achieve an education and even a career," declared President Lowell.

NEW DAY FOR THE NEGRO

RACE PROBLEMS ARE YIELDING TO EDUCATION AND TOLERANCE.

Association Working for the Advancement of the Negro Now Numbers More Than 100,000 — Has Fought for Anti-Lynching Law.
KANSAS CITY TIMES
OCTOBER 22, 1922

Is there a better day in store for the American negro? Will the day of the race riot pass and the injustice of lynch law yield to the orderly processes of the courts? There are definite grounds for encouragement, according to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which for more than a decade had worked for a better understanding of the race problem in the United States and the advancement of the American negro. Organized in 1910, with Moorfield Storey of Boston, former president of the American Bar Association, at its head, the association adopted the platform of an organization of negroes formed in 1905 at Niagara, and known as the Niagara movement, whose platform declared for:

Freedom of speech and criticism.
An unfettered and unsubsidized press.
Manhood suffrage.
The abolition of all caste distinctions based simply on race and color.
The recognition of the principle of human brotherhood as a practical present creed.
The recognition of the highest and best training as the monopoly of no class or race.
A belief in the dignity of labor.
United effort to realize these ideals under wise and courageous leadership.

Violence No Solution.

Since its formation the association has expanded until its membership throughout the United States is nearly one hundred thousand, with branches in a majority of the states. Its work has been expanded from those early days so that it includes every conceivable form of battle against race discrimination and violence.

The investigators of the association, often at risk to their lives, have visited the scenes of lynchings, obtained the facts and published the facts to the world, thereby helping to establish the falsity of the charge that the negro is a rapist or that lynching occurs in punishment of that crime chiefly. Concurrently with these investigations, the association collated statistics, comparing them with those gathered each year at Tuskegee, and published "Thirty Years of Lynching," the standard statistical work covering this subject from the years 1889 to 1918, to which additions are made each year. Through these labors it has been established that less than 17 per cent of the 3,484 known

victims of lynching mobs from 1889 to January 1, 1922, have been accused of the crime of rape.

Education of public sentiment is looked upon as the chief, if not the only way of bringing about harmony between the races in America. Former Governor Frank O. Lowden of Illinois said in introducing the report of the Chicago committee studying the race riot of 1919, that, it is certain that the problem will not be solved by methods of violence, and that "Every race riot, every instance in which men of either race defy legal authority and take the law into their own hands, but postpones the day when the two races shall live together amicably. The law must be maintained and enforced vigorously and completely before any real progress can be made towards better race relations."

FOR ANTI-LYNCHING LAW.

In maintaining the negro's rights the association responds to appeals from every part of the country. If convinced that injustice is being done, colored men are defended in the courts, through legal committees of local branches of the association. The Arkansas riots of 1919 were thoroughly investigated and the cases of the condemned negro farmers of Elaine County taken to the supreme court of the United States.

Meanwhile, the legislative is not neglected. The association led the fight to have the Dyer anti-lynching bill enacted into law. This measure, already passed by the house of representatives, is to be acted upon in the next session by the senate.

Aside from that there are definite grounds for encouragement. Discussion of race relations has become more frank and open. In the last season even, two novels have been published by southern white men throwing a glaring light upon the conditions which are in need of remedy. The literature on the subject of race problems is constantly increasing and constantly becoming more penetrating in its observations and criticism of existing conditions. This, the association concludes, presages increasing enlightenment and tolerance and a desire to see justice done.

MAN OF DREAMS.

O man of dreams, why do you stay
Far hidden from my sight away?
I search and search each face I see—
Do you still wait and look for me?
And will I know you on that day
When your fond heart to me will say,
In love's sweet words with meaning fraught:
"Here is the one for whom I've sought."
Then all my soul with joy will greet,
And lay its treasures at your feet.
For if that day be dark or fair,
The springtime flowers will blossom there;
For where your smile makes light the way,
Beauty and truth can only stay.
O man of dreams, I'm waiting still,
And all the things that my life fill,
Are but the tiny drops of dew,
In oceans of my love for you.

"THE COLOR QUESTION IN THE TWO AMERICAS"

By Dr. Bernardo Ruiz Suarez

Es la última contribución al estudio de los problemas que afectan a nuestra raza. En este libro se hace un estudio de las condiciones en que vive la raza de color en Centro y Sud América comparado con la de Norte América.

Por la suma de \$2.30 para los Estados Unidos, y \$3.40 para el exterior, puede Ud. abtener un ejemplar de este útil libro, y un año de suscripción "AL NEW YORK AGE. Dirijase AL NEW YORK AGE, Calle 135 Oeste No. 230, Nueva York.

Race Problem - 1922
United States

CHICAGO ILL BLADE
SEPTEMBER 9, 1922

SHALL WE BUY OFF THE BLACK RACE?

BY PROF. JOHN C. ADAMS

Purchase the negro's property at a fair price and transport him to Africa, extending him aid and protection for an agreed period of time.

OF THE seven suggestions made by Blade readers for the solution of our black race problem in the United States, the foregoing proposition stands third on a basis of the number of persons favoring it. Evidently, thousands of persons in this country feel that we should buy off the black race, dealing fairly in the transactions, and return our black population to Africa, from which country we forcibly brought their forefathers. This plan includes financial and other kinds of assistance for the government which would be set up by the negroes in Africa, obtaining the necessary lands for such colonization, and the protection of these people against the aggressions of native Africans and other nations.

That is a big job. When the various phases of it are analyzed one is apt to experience some misgivings as to its practicability. How, for example, would the United States obtain the vast area of land essential to the creation of a new nation? Would any nation such as France, Belgium or England sell to us a substantial part of the territory it controls in Africa? When these nations are actually fighting to extend their holdings it is not likely that they would be enthusiastic about selling territory to us or permitting us to establish in Africa a new government over which we would exercise a protectorate and, therefore, fall heir to a very lively interest in developments in Africa. If the United States attempted to carry out this scheme other countries would see in the move an effort on the part of Uncle Sam to get a foothold in Africa where European countries have dug in and are very jealous of the rights to exploit the natives and the vast natural resources of that great continent.

Assuming, however, that the United States might be able to get land concessions adequate for the accommodation of 12,000,000 people, and that governments now powerful in Africa would not object to the establishment there of a new state under the protection of the United States, buying out the American negro and returning him to Africa remains a whale of a job.

In 1915, according to the head of Tuskegee Institute, there were 50,000 negro business enterprises in the United States. Negroes owned and operated 72 banks, 695 drug stores, 1,000 undertaking establishments, 240 wholesale concerns, and there were no fewer than 25,000 negroes in retail business. In 1910 the total value of farm property owned by negroes was \$492,892,218, an increase of 177 per cent during the ten years from 1900 to 1910. It is reason-

able to assume that between 1910 and 1920 the increase is at least 100 per cent, which would bring the figure to approximately \$1,000,000,000 total valuation of farm property in the United States owned by negroes. I find no late figures on the value of town property owned by blacks, but I am disposed to believe that the total value of city and town property owned by blacks is approximately as great as the total value of the farm property, making another billion dollars' worth of property which would have to be purchased.

Doubtless, the details of how this property should be sold, so that the negro would get full value, might be worked out, but it would not be a simple problem by any means, and, having solved it, the major difficulties still would remain.

The cost of transporting 12,000,000 blacks to a new African home would be a staggering sum. If it could be done for \$100 a head—which it couldn't—this expense would amount to a billion and two hundred million dollars. Assuming that this colonization scheme was planned on a ten-year basis, during which time the United States would have to be responsible for these people and their government, it would cost no less than twenty billion dollars, or about as much as our present National debt, which is making taxes so high that every one is protesting and business men are saying that taxes are killing prosperity.

Before you decide to make a move that is bound to have a bearing on your affairs, it is prudent to look ahead and see what the effect will be. Suppose that we decided to pay the bill and colonize the negro in Africa. Presto! We have no negroes in the United States! Now who will work the cotton fields of the South? The prosperity of the South is based on cotton. In the future cotton will be increasingly important because the world demand for cotton grows, while the possible acreage is pretty well limited. Will whites work

the cotton fields? Do we ignore the fact that in semi-tropical climates the white man does not do well as a laborer? Have we thought this phase of the question thru so that we know just what the result will be? Surely, we should do this before we decide on a line of action.

Having the negro here, we wish he was in Africa. If he were in Africa, would we be wishing that he again was here? WE DO NOT WANT TO FIND OURSELVES IN THE PREDICAMENT OF HAVING FIRED THE COOK BEFORE HAVING ANOTHER, EQUALLY AS GOOD OR BETTER, AVAILABLE.

WE MAY AGREE THAT THE NEGRO, WITH HIS SWAY-BACKED MULE, IS NOT AN IDEAL ELEMENT IN OUR BUSINESS AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS, BUT WE MUST NOT IGNORE THE FACT THAT THE GREAT COTTON INDUSTRY OF THIS COUNTRY HAS BEEN BUILT UP ON A PLAN THAT CALLS FOR NEGROES AND SWAY-BACKED MULES, and if you change these you will have to change the entire industry.

After all, why is the negro a problem? Surely not because he owns property. He is a problem because he has political power in a white man's government. He is a problem because with or without his consent the mixing of white and black blood is on the increase. Finally, he is a problem because when he invades certain occupations he breaks down wages and, therefore, breaks down the standard of living for white laborers. If we could find an effective way to eliminate these evil results we might be convinced that it is better and cheaper to keep the negro in the United States and use him in that part of the country and in occupations for which he is better fitted than white men.

The sins of the slave-traders surely have been visited on the third and fourth generation in America, and we ought to have a care lest we also commit sins which in turn will be visited on posterity. We cannot afford to solve the negro question the "easy way" if that is not the "right way."

WE MUST WEIGH THE NEGRO AND HIS BUNDLE OF RACIAL FAULTS AGAINST THE REAL INTEREST OF THE WHITE RACE IN AMERICA, placing in the scales the cost of executing whatever plan we propose, plus the economic loss involved therein, and act only when we are sure that the scales balance and that the loss in one particular means a corresponding gain in some other particular.

Personally, I feel that the cost to the United States in buying out the negro, transporting him to Africa, establishing him there and protecting him indefinitely, is prohibitive, and I want to be convinced that there is no other way of solving our race question before I agree that we shall undertake in this fashion to buy off the negro race.

VIRGIN ISLANDS GOV'NOR ADMITS DISFRANCHISING

New York News
9/30/22
Official report denies that political serfdom exists, rapine by the U. S. Marines and other acts of violence. The following letters explain themselves:

July 29, 1922.

Mr. Ashley L. Totten,
915 Intervale Avenue,
New York City.

Sir: His Excellency, Governor Kittelle, is in receipt of your letter of the 18th instant, announcing the arrival of Messrs. Corneiro, Moorehead and Sixto, in New York and their departure for Washington.

In reply to your inference; although the government has no official information on the subject, it is understood that Mr. Sixto was sent to the United States by a number of people who contributed toward his expenses. No list of such subscribers has been furnished to the government, so the government is unable to state whom Mr. Sixto represents or what instructions control his movements. Messrs. Corneiro and Moorehead were selected by the Colonial Council of St. Thomas and St. John, as delegates from that body.

The Governor notes with interest that you say that you "have in New York, a certain group of Virgin Islanders who are trying to circulate rumors against the present form of government in the Islands with language to the effect that political serfdom exists, and that the U. S. Marines are permitted to attack natives, commit rapine, and other similar deeds and are not punished." It has already come to the attention of the Governor that some persons alleged to be in New York are alleged to have adopted certain resolutions, the purport of which is similar to your above noted reference. In a recent address to the graduates of the High School, the Governor referred to these resolutions which had been printed in a local paper called "The Emancipator," as follows:

Progress Toward American Liberties
"I was shocked the other day to note in one of the local papers that purporting to be a set of resolutions, alleged to have been promulgated by certain natives of the Virgin Islands, resident in New York. In all my life of public service I have never seen anything so false and deliberately mis-

leading as are those resolutions. They are so viciously false that it is unnecessary for me to warn you to be on your guard as far as they are concerned, but I do most solemnly warn you to watch and be on your guard at all times for more clever minds may seek to influence you in more insidious ways. Remember that truth will always bear the full light of day without flinching, while evil loves the dark. When America took over these islands, it was with the intention of gradually bringing the people into the enjoyment of all the liberties of the American people. Many of them have already been accorded you and much has already been accomplished. More will come in due time if you hold your citizenship in these islands unsullied by falsehood and hatred."

The Governor believes the present form of government the very best, most unselfish and kindly and most economical that the islands could have. The Navy department very generously loans a number of officers to fill the civic positions in the insular government, which is a purely civil government, not naval and not under the control of the Navy department, but under the direct control and direction of the President of the United States. To replace the naval officers by civilians would increase the insular budget by about \$90,000 per annum, a condition not likely to appeal to either the Congress of the United States, nor to the taxpayers of the Virgin Islands.

His Excellency is fully aware that this agitation for a change emanates from a comparatively few persons, who are animated by the personal desire and ambition to get into insular public office; and such persons are probably the very last ones whom the United States Government would be willing to entrust with any responsible public office whatsoever.

Suffrage Denied to Some Natives

It is needless for me to tell you that no political serfdom, nor serfdom of any kind, exists in the Virgin Islands. Every honest man and woman knows this to be so. To be sure, not every adult person of both sexes, as yet, votes for members of the Colonial Councils, but the interests of all the people is, at all times, completely safeguarded by the Governor, who is free from all trammels of political turmoil.

The Marines are not permitted to attack either natives or any other persons, and entertain no desire to do so. In a few instances natives have unlawfully sold bad liquor to marines, who becoming badly intoxicated, have been disorderly and in a few instances have struck other persons. In every case the marines have been punished but unfortunately the natives who sold the liquor have not been found or pun-

ished. There have been instances, on the other hand, where unoffending marines have been assaulted by unknown natives, who escaped without detection and punishment. There has been no rapine committed by marines. Any such conduct on the part of either marines or natives will meet with swift justice if brought to the knowledge of the insular police and judiciary.

The Governor desires me to convey to you his gratification at receiving your letter of inquiry and directs me to further say that if the other Virgin Islanders in New York will follow your example, further false propaganda from that source may be avoided. Very truly yours, J. J. GAFFNEY,

Government Secretary.

"The principal point of interest to natives of the Virgin Islands resident in the U. S. A. is the fight for full rights of citizenship.

"We are the only people in these United States who by virtue of the interpretation made by Congress are under the protection of no form of government.

"To ally ourselves with any organization whose methods are decidedly against the government will be damaging to our cause.

"Through my own efforts, a bill in our interest will be introduced in Congress in the very near future.

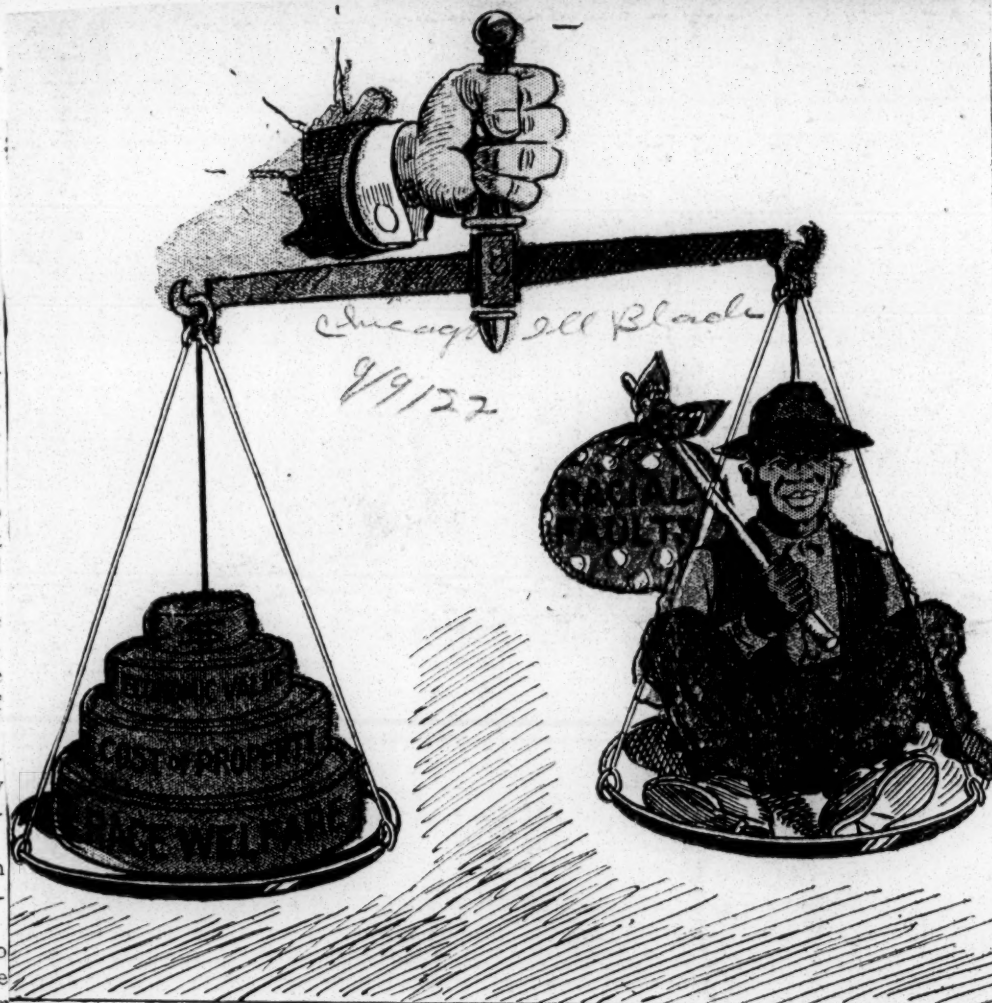
"You are urged most respectfully to 'COME TOGETHER' in a decisive fight for the future welfare of our islands, our kindred and ourselves. Yours for 'Love of Country,'

"ASHLEY L. TOTTEN,

"Member of Congressional Council of Virgin Islanders."



"We Must Not Ignore the Fact That the Cotton Industry of This Country Has Been Built Up on a Plan That Calls for Negroes and Sway-backed Mules."



"We Must Weigh the Negro and His Bundle of Racial Faults Against the Real Interest of the White Race in America."



"We Do Not Want to Find Ourselves in the Predicament of Having Fired the Cook Before Having Another Available."

THE NEGRO PRESS IN AMERICA

By Frederick G. Detweiler. Published by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill. Price, \$3.00. Postage, 15c extra.

Chicago, Ill.

By Mary White Ovington,

Chairman of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Chicago Whip - 10/14/22

Early in his book, Mr. Detweiler quotes Arthur Brisbane as saying that the newspaper reflecting the public, a mirror more or less defective, but still a mirror is a mirror and that the paper that the individual holds in his hand reflects that individual more or less accurately. He ends with this paragraph, "Instead of merely reflecting life the newspaper, in setting themes for discussion and suggesting the foci of attention, helps powerfully to create that life. No part of the Negro race in America is quite stagnant. It may be that those who are on the frontier of their world, chiefly in the cities and the ranks of the educated, are most sensitive to the new forces and new standards. But back in quiet rural areas, others are reading their news and arguments, and the whole mass is responding to the printed suggestion. A young Negro is sent to Annapolis; through the press, he becomes a symbol for all. The anti-lynching bill passes and the House and publicity engraves it in Magna Charta. Even a street fight, if the racial issue enters in, stiffens the whole line of conflict and sounds the call to a holy resistance. The advertising pages play their part in influencing the standard of living. And so the press, ephemeral as it is, keeps moving on the main current of interest, and helps to bring into being the life that its pages report."

The book from cover to cover shows us not only the value but the absolute necessity of a Negro press. Any racial group in America, and especially an oppressed group, must have its medium for expression, for its own education and also as a safety valve for the utterance of its many wrongs. We see this, as we go through the pages filled with excerpts from prominent colored papers voicing the race's wrongs or telling of its triumphs.

Here is a summary of the material the average colored paper carries. "A statistical study of the Negro newspapers shows that the amount of space devoted to news and opinion seems to average 60 per cent. For the most part the advertising represents local business, generally business carried on by Negroes. To the white reader advertisements of cosmetics appear rather prominent. The casual reader of the Negro paper is impressed by the large proportion of opinion as over against news, but this is due largely to the tone of the news writing. The editorials as such take an average of four per cent of the space. About one-seventh of all goes into out-of-town news. Events of general interest having nothing to do with race matters scarcely appear. As for special pages dealing with sports or the theatre, these belong only to the newspapers in larger cities. Such are the results of an analysis of forty typical periodicals."

There are 24 periodicals whose names have been preserved as representative of the journalism engaged in by Negroes before the Civil War. Many had a brief existence. The Freedman's Journal started in 1827 by Samuel Cornish and John B. Russworm lasted for some time. Then there was the North Star which later became the Frederick Douglass Paper. Others were the Mirror of Liberty, the Elevator, the Clarion. These papers were, of course, published in the North. One of the finest stories of mutual help is that of James Fortun, colored, sending Garrison the first money he ever received for the Liberator and encouraging him to go on with his work. Evidently there are few copies to be found of these old publications. They contained a small amount of news and a great deal of agitation. The anti-slavery struggle gave them their readers.

Mr. Detweiler is very lenient in his book upon the shortcomings of the press. He predicts for it a future of increasing power and usefulness.

Race Problem - 1922.

United States.

VIEWS and REVIEWS

By James Weldon Johnson, Contributing Editor.

RESURGENCE OF THE NEGRO IN LITERATURE.

A half dozen years ago it was next to impossible to get anything at all published about the Negro. Neither newspapers nor magazines nor book publishers cared for the Negro as a subject. Of course, there always has been in newspapers current news of Negro crimes, etc., but we are speaking of the Negro as a subject for discussion pro and con.

The last twelve months has witnessed a resurgence of the Negro in literature and collaterally on the stage. All of this indicates a stirring which has been going on in the subconscious mind of the public ever since the War and is now working out consciously.

The "come back" of the Negro to the New York stage is a sure indication of this. Within the last five years there have been five plays with colored actors produced on Broadway. (It may be necessary to say to those not familiar with New York City that "Broadway" means the first class theatres devoted to dramatic and musical productions in the theatrical district of the Borough of Manhattan). Three of these were serious plays and two were musical comedies. Of the serious plays one, "The Emperor Jones," was one of the outstanding theatrical successes of the season, and of the musical plays one, "Shuffle Along," is one of the greatest musical hits that New York has ever known. It has been running for a solid year in the same theatre.

This revival is merely a more obvious demonstration of what is going on in books. The last twelve months have seen the great publishing houses of New York turn out a half dozen important books by or about Negroes. This marks a great change when we consider that only a few years ago none of the leading publishers in New York were in the least interested in anything touching upon the Negro. Publishers of books have changed because they have sensed and realized the fact that there is a reading and purchasing public for the kind of book about the Negro now being published. I believe that this reading and publishing public has been greatly increased by the colored people themselves. The fact that for so many years colored people were not book buyers is one of the chief reasons why so few good books about the Negro were published, and even now the number of colored people who regularly buy books is infinitesimally small. If there were twenty thousand, or even ten thousand, colored people in the United States who could be depended upon to purchase worth while books about the Negro, any publisher in the country would be glad to publish such books.

This resurgence of the Negro in literature is remarkable not so much because books about the Negro are again being pub-

lished but because the books are so different. This difference is strikingly illustrated in two novels, both written by Southern white men, one of them "Birthright" (Century Company), and the other "White and Black" (Harcourt, Brace and Company).

Both of these books are destined to be widely read and much discussed.

In fiction heretofore written by Southern white authors there has been only one kind of Negro treated with any consideration and that was the Negro of the old Mammy and Uncle class. But in "Birthright" and "White and Black" we have two Southern white authors making an honest attempt to exhibit a slice of life in the South. It is true that both these authors have their shortcomings and neither of them is entirely free from the limitations of prejudice, but there is no doubt that both of them have striven to be sincere and honest.

Perhaps a number of colored people have already read "Birthright" as it ran as a serial in the "Century" magazine, and no doubt most of those who have read it were disappointed in the way the story was finally worked out and concluded. There are grounds in the story for such disappointment. But even so, we should remember how far in advance it is of the traditional fiction about the races that has come out of the South. Whatever deficiencies of knowledge regarding the black South the author of "Birthright" shows he makes up for by his full and absolute knowledge of the white South, and that white South he does not spare. He holds it up as it is—provincial, ignorant and prejudiced.

I think, however, that "White and Black" is a better story and stronger. The author of "White and Black" knows his white South fully as well as does the author of "Birthright" and he knows his black South better. "White and Black" takes in a wider range of race relations in the South than does "Birthright." It considers these relations not only in the conventional light of race prejudice but also in the light of economics. Neither is the author afraid to speak out plainly on that element in the problem which is almost absolutely taboo, the sex element.

Neither of these books will prove entirely satisfactory to colored readers but because they are by Southern white writers who have broken entirely from the old traditional school of Southern fiction and have striven to present the truth about race conditions in the South, they are important enough to be widely read by colored people.

NATURE WIPED AWAY THE COLOR LINE!

The inconsistency and fallacy of racial prejudice, discrimination and segregation were brought very forcibly home to The Informer last Thursday at West End base ball park.

An exhibition game was being staged between the Brooklyn Dodgers of the National League and the New York Yankees of the American loop.

The stellar drawing card was the mighty swat king, George Herman ("Babe") Ruth, champion fungo and homerun hitter of all time.

When Black Meets White

AMERICA'S NEED OF THE NEGRO

97. P. 10/18/22

That the Negro by nature is physically and mentally fitted to do profitable work, that by virtue of these facts he has already made vast contributions to the wealth of his nation and, that he is all the more fitted to so contribute in the future is at once a very great honor to his name and race, rendering him an asset and practically necessity to the future life and prosperity of his country.

In addition to the Negro's labor, American needs his loyalty. By nature and by training, the colored race is and always has been loyal to this country and its government. Negroes were here as slaves before the Republic was established. They brought with them no prejudices and left behind them no memories which even in slavery they could cherish against this land. As already said, in every war in which America was engaged, Negroes have bravely fought beside white men for American principles.

So much cannot be said of all the millions of other "foreigners" who have come to our shores. One of the gravest questions of the Nation today is that of the Americanization of the foreigners among us. It actually is a question of whether America shall Americanize the foreigners or the foreigners shall foreignize America. Into this problem the Negroes do not enter save as always and everywhere they are unquestionable assets on the side of

Due to Ruth's presence in the game and his great pulling power, an overflow crowd was present and it was necessary for a large number of the white spectators to find seats on the grass between the grand stand and playing field.

About the fifth inning a light shower came up and the whites seated on the grass beat a hasty retreat to points of vantage, where they would not get dampened by the precipitation.

The section in the grandstand reserved for and employed by the colored fans was not filled and thus these white spectators, both men and women, came hurriedly and found seats all among the colored contingent, and, despite the fact that the shower was brief and of no consequence, these white fans and fanettes remained in the colored section of the grandstand until the last man was thrown out at first base in the tenth inning.

Before the rain, according to the law and custom of the South, it would have been a disgrace and crime for the whites to have sat in the same section with the colored element, but the rain wiped away the color line, and racial prejudice, hatred and antipathy were all forgotten both for the moment and throughout the remaining innings of the diamond struggle between the two clubs.

This incident brought very forcibly home to our mind the utter fallacy, inconsistency and absurdity of what we term to call race prejudice; for if a man is prejudiced against another, no incident, not even a disturbance of nature, can cause him to forget and forego his hatred and animosity towards his fellowman.

The Informer has no words of criticism for those white fans and fanettes that sought shelter in the colored section of the grandstand at West End Park, but merely desires to call attention to the fact that what the rain brought about in racial goodwill, harmony and wiping away the color line at a ball game could prevail in our every day life, if we would throw prejudice and ill-will into the sea of oblivion, and remember that we are all the creatures of the same Creator.

We have witnessed countless incidents of the color line being wiped away or forgotten, at least temporarily, in the South.

Take our street cars, for instance. On the inside of the cars it is necessary for a marker or "screen" to separate the two races, yet on the rear platform the two races ride in perfect peace and harmony, often jammed and packed like sardines in a can and less trouble develops between the two races on the rear platforms, where both sexes of both races are often indiscriminately mixed; than on the interior of the cars where segregation and discrimination obtain and prevail.

Colored chauffeurs usually share their front seat with members of their employers' families, yet if the car breaks down and the occupants, including the driver, are forced to abandon the automobile and board a trolley car, what obtained in the auto is prohibited by law and custom on the street car.

In the automobile the color line was either wiped out or forgotten, but once a street car or passenger coach is boarded the color line becomes manifest again in its worst and most degrading and

humiliating form.

Yet colored nurses with white children are permitted to sit in sections of street cars reserved for whites, and no objection is ever raised to them occupying such seats.

Isn't there some consistency to our Southern species of race prejudice, antipathy, segregation and discrimination?

Don't we strain at a gnat and try to swallow a camel entirely too much for the best interests of our section?

Aren't we tired of suffering with civic indigestion, which threatens to become chronic in its acute stage?

Why can't the South stop truckling to maudlin sentiment, racial prejudice, bigotry and intolerance and living in the dead past, catch a new spirit of Americanism, understand the fuller meaning of democracy and devote her time and energy in making our section the garden spot of the world?

If we can forget and forego the color line and race question in its many manifestations and ramifications in automobiles, during showers of rain, at athletic events and other incidents, why in the name of high heaven can't we forget and eschew it all together?

It may be that like Nature wiped out the color line at the ball game at West End Park last Thursday afternoon, perhaps in due time she will eradicate it entirely from the human family. At least let us hope so and labor to that end. Selah!

NO BIBLES PLEASE

As a general proposition, we feel that Mr. Garvey's thirty day convention was a loss of time and energy but one good day's work was done when, by an overwhelming vote, these future African Nationalists refused to accept a gift of Bibles from a prominent Bible Society. We are not certain just why this group was selected for this particular gift, but we do know that this is an ancient trick, this presenting of Bibles to "inferior races." It is a dangerous thing to accept Bibles from the Anglo-Saxon. This race of conquerors has always used the Bible as a prelude to armed invasion and butchery. The missionaries go first with an Anglo-Saxon religion of hypocrisy and cant and the army follows.

Mr. Garvey suggested that these Bibles be sent to the white heathen in the South, but we are of the opinion that the society might find use for them within their own ranks. It is our experience that white Christians, ministers and all, do more to perpetuate race prejudice than any other group among the whites. This is especially true of orthodox white groups and most of the Bible distributing societies are extremely orthodox and hide-bound. It was well that this society was made to know that although we believe in the religion of Jesus Christ, we do not care for white America's exemplification of that religion.

Race Problem - 1922

United States.

~~Kansas City~~ ~~9/23/12~~
AMERICA'S NEED OF THE NEGRO.

The question of whether the Negro is a liability or an asset to the United States is most important to the Nation as a whole. And, regardless of whether he is an asset, prevailing opinion upon this point will largely determine the rapidity with which the race problem relative to the Negro will be solved.

After a complete survey of the situation, including our national needs and necessities, the physical, mental, and spiritual traits of the Colored race, the attitude of the race toward our government and the certain proportions of development the race will attain, unquestionably the Negro is not only an asset, but time will likely prove him a necessity to the future welfare of our country.

From the economic viewpoint, especially, that of manual labor, America needs the Negro. If Negro labor was a good thing for this country, economically speaking, during slavery, it is better with his freedom.

However, in considering America's need of the Negro from the standpoint of labor and economy, our minds should be disabused of the long prevailing idea that the Negro's specialty is labor and, that he is fit only for physical labor. The greatest curse of our country and of the world is the wrongly placed view of "labor," regarding it as menial and those engaged in it as degraded.

Of all things, labor is the most honorable. The laws of nature have made it essential to physical, mental and moral health. Without physical exercise the body fails and dies. Actual, useful bodily labor is the very best sort of physical exercise. Without mental exercise, the mind fails to develop, dwarfs, becomes ineffective and useless. Without moral exercise in love for and doing good for others, the soul shrivels and perishes. The proper exercise of body, mind and soul in the comprehensive sense, is work.

The line of demarkation between physical and mental work is hard to distinguish. Neither can be done successfully without the other. No man can be at his best mentally who does not exercise his body. No one can do good physical work without aid from the brain. The one contributes to the other.

This is all so evident and commonplace that no one will dispute it, but no other fact of life is so ignored and abused as this. Not only does the "Aristocracy of Gold," together with the imitators of this aristocracy "look down" upon manual laborers, but most of such workers themselves feel degraded and long for the time when they may escape it. Many resort to tricks and dishonest devices in order to live without work. But hate it as we may, it is essential to the existence of humanity. Every necessity, comfort and luxury is possible only through the manual toil of some one. Therefore, the most essential, and consequently the most honorable people of earth are the workers. The fact is, no man or woman with the mental or physical ability to engage in some useful occupation and refuses to do so, has a moral right to live. Such a one is necessarily a burden to others and a "cumberer of the ground."

10-26/23
White Discs Say
"Japs Must Go"

Los Angeles, Cal. Oct. 21—Residents awoke today to find the city had been mysteriously showered during last night with white paper discs. The little round white spots were everywhere.

Not a letter was upon the discs. Californians needed no explanation. The white spots were a warning that the California White Sot Association had started its campaign to nullify the growing influence of the Japanese. "The Jap must go" is the ultimatum. Senators Johnson and Shortridge are members of the association.

Give Him a Chance

PITTSBURGH, PA. LEADER
OCTOBER 19, 1922

THE representative of the National Urban league who last night defended the American Negro from the charge of unprogressiveness had the strong end of the issue. To stop with the mere assertion that the Negro lacks the initiative which is the soul of progress, because of his condition in Africa, is to weigh resulting conditions without reference to causes. The Negro's condition in Africa today is no guide to his character when he gets a chance.

A better yard stick with which to measure the American Negro's capacity to advance into genuine progress is his accomplishments in the United States since, say 1867. No one who has given any study to his condition then and compares that with his standing today will consent to the charge of unprogressiveness because of what exists in Africa.

In fact there are excellent umpires who have made the claim that the American Negro has advanced further in that time than the average white man in the United States. Those who talk about Negro failure to advance must shut their eyes to facts which loom large in the history of both races. To compare a race which has been free from bondage for a little more than a half century with the race which has enjoyed freedom for centuries is unfair, but the Negro does not shrink from the handicap.

A racial illiteracy which has fallen from almost 100 per cent to a scant 25 per cent in two generations of a people liberated from slavery in the heart of a sanguinary war is a longer stride than the white race has made in the same time. And the other forward steps the American Negro has taken fail to support the sweeping and unthinking claim that he is unprogressive because of a retarded social development in his native continent.

Measured by practical results the Negro has nothing to fear from a comparison with his white brother. He has stepped forward under conditions which would have sent a less cheerful and optimistic race reeling backward. The advance is not confined to the plain black men in the ranks. The Negro has produced leaders from among his own people, who stand on a level with the white leadership, above it all things considered, for the Negro labored under a heavy handicap.

Give the Negro the opportunities pressed upon and refused by the white race and his progress within the next half century will be one of the marvelous achievements of history. A study of Negro industrial statistics of the south will amaze.

Unrest In Georgia Demands Attention of Those in Authority

By Dr. H. R. BUTLER.

Have you taken the time to watch the signs of the times? I have. I am referring simply to the situation in our own state, Georgia.

Scattered over this great state (great in size) are more than a million colored Americans — free and half free, half slave and half free. For fifty years they have been chained to that body of death. They are half free and half found. One of the first lessons the mother has to teach her child is some kind of a thing she just does not understand herself and cannot explain it to her half slave and half free born. No one knows what a sad task that is but the kind hearted colored mother and the strong armed and yet weak colored father. When the colored mother enters a street car with her darling little one, and it should go forward and attempt to climb up in a seat, the mother must run and catch him and say, "My child, you must not go up there." Then that little soul wants to know why—its little heart gets its first dagger and the Christian church says, "Amen, it is right." The mother tries to explain, but she will never get that child to fully understand and it grows up hating somebody and on through life that soul goes chained to that body of hate.

If this was just one case it would not amount to much. That could be lived down, but there are over a million of just such cases in our state, and pray as we may, and teach as we may, we will never be able to clear up that situation under present conditions and environment.

This throws an enormous responsibility upon the shoulders of our ministry, teachers and leaders. For a long time they tried to teach the young people that these conditions were right—although they knew they were wrong. Now another plan is being taken by most preachers, teachers and leaders. They are teaching the young people that these conditions through which they are passing are wrong, but to be patient and suffer them to be for a while and that in His own time, God will right all wrongs. The rising generations of young people take more kindly to that way of thinking than they did the other way. It is far better to be truthful than untruthful.

And, after all, there is still unrest in Georgia from the mountains

to the sea. The colored people are discouraged, down hearted and have almost reached a state of despair. I refer especially to the people in the rural districts and small towns. I know the boll weevil's appearance, destroying the cotton crops, had something to do with this unrest and dissatisfaction; I know the failure of crops in general for the past three or more years had its influence on the situation; and yet, to be truthful, we must acknowledge that there are some other causes. There is no use in trying to cover up this truth.

Among these may be mentioned inadequate schools for the children, practically no school buildings, poor pay for teachers, unjust inequality in the salaries of teachers, taxation without representation. Think of it, a million citizens in the state and no one to represent them in the halls of legislation, either state or national; and what is more, these million citizens are not permitted to vote for those who draw the pay of representatives because God saw fit to darken their (the million citizens) skins; and some Christians say this is right, and I tremble for them when they go to God risking the future of their souls on that slender thread.

These conditions, together with certain other injustices, are driving the people from the country into the towns and cities and even out of the state. The want of protection in the pursuit of labor and happiness, the fear to sleep in the country at night, and the great desire to better these conditions somewhere, is drawing these people away from the country. This is producing a grave situation in the rural districts. It is depleting the already poor schools, it is practically closing up some of the rural churches and leaving the vast fields of the state to grow up in grass and weeds. Not only are the colored people leaving, but the young white people are leaving also and going to the cities. Somebody must remain on the farms and cultivate them or we will soon be faced by a famine. We cannot grow food stuffs in the cities, neither can food stuffs grow in the country without somebody to do the cultivating. That being true, something must be done to satisfy the

people in the country. Something must be done to make them happy, safe and satisfied. A satisfied people are a happy people. A happy people will be an industrious people, a help and an honor to themselves, and a help and an honor to the state as well. An unhappy people that live in fear for their lives all the time, and a poverty-stricken and ignorant people soon become a desperate and dangerous people. The state can, ought to, and must, correct this state of affairs, and do it at once. It can be done only along the lines of right, honesty, truth, justice and Christianity. The daily and weekly press can do a great deal in this work if they only would. They cannot do it, however, by holding up the "Big Stick." That day is gone. It is now some sixty years from slavery and these people, though poor and many of them ignorant, must be handled as free men and free women; any other method will simply complicate matters. The Christian church can help, but to do so it must pull off its cloak of hypocrisy; it just cannot work with that on.

The southern congressmen voting in favor of mob murder and lynching and failing to urge their states to pass a law against such in their states, was also a serious disappointment to the colored citizens who suffer most at the hands of the mobs. The governor ought to appoint a commission composed of three white men, three white women, three colored men and three colored women at once to take up this matter and go to the bottom of it. This condition is more serious than one uninformed would believe. We are doing our part and more, will not our white Christian people do their part? We are to tour the state with Major R. R. Moton, of Tuskegee, looking to helping in this very thing. Why not, our white Christian people do a similar act? May God have mercy upon us for we are passing through a serious period of our lives.

RACE WON'T FOLLOW BRAINS, SAYS DR. J. E. MOORELAND

Dr. J. E. Mooreland, international secretary of the Young Men's Christian association, in an address deliv-

ered before a group of local business men at a dinner held in the Appomattox club, declared that one of the most distressing signs of the times, so far as Race progress is concerned, is the apparent unwillingness of the Race to follow its trained leaders.

There is a singular lack of co-operation and appreciation, he pointed out, between those who most need help and those who should best be able to give aid. The men from our colleges and universities, in his opinion, are failing to find the place that should be theirs in the social and moral life of the group.

A. L. Jackson, a former secretary of the Chicago branch of the Y. M. C. A., and a Harvard graduate, in a part answer to Dr. Mooreland, held that the "Y" program is not strong nor aggressive enough to command the attention of those young men whom it might do most good and who might render the most service to the organization.

DETROIT FREE PRESS
OCTOBER 12, 1922
The Awakening of the Colored Race
BY FREDERICK F. INGRAM.

ARTICLE I.

Since the signing of the armistice, one of the most extraordinary and unexpected problems receiving the attention of foreign press dispatches dealing with social, political, and economic matters, has centered about the awakened self-consciousness among the colored races. By colored races, I mean the black, brown, and yellow populations. These constitute the majority of the human race and have for centuries been exploited by the whites under various forms of protection as vassals or colonials. An American in Paris soon learns that a consideration must be given to the aspirations of the colored people before there can be any real talk about reconstruction in Europe. The future outlook in Asia Minor, India, China, Egypt, and the European protectorates and colonies in Africa is complicated by a race awakening, which gives promise to parallel a world uprising only equalled by the conquering Moslems who were checked in the Balkans and before the Pyrenees.

In the world war the commercial nations divided the colored races and set them fighting each other. The Chinese, Hindu, Arab, and Negroes entered the war either as conscripts or volunteers to the numbers of several millions. In this death grip they gave freely of their resources and mentality in fighting the battles for the white man. Strife for commercial privileges had set the stage and the colored races were induced to play the game by the side of and under the direction of their white brother. The services which the various branches of the colored races rendered during the

war have had the effect of bringing their power and aspirations into a position of increasing influence. They are beginning to learn their ability. There is an awakening going on among them that seems to indicate that the white races will be called upon to redefine their positions toward these new aspirations.

That the French have not shared the attitude of the Americans and British toward the colored races has long been known to students of social and political science.

The atmosphere of France soon convinces the American traveller that he has really come into a new world. The first impression is one of interest and novelty, and then, a shock to the American who from his early boyhood has dreamed a thousand times the glories of a Lafayette, and who all his life has assumed that we are actuated by the same ideals and has been under the enchantment of the ties that bound the two foremost republics of the world. He realizes that however greatly the generous and high-minded men and women of both countries may desire the fullest and most complete culmination of this mutual understanding, the hard and plain facts are that this common ideal is, in one particular at least, an end that remains yet to be achieved.

I refer to the colored-race question. May the writer state at the outset that he has no intention of saying that the French attitude is not correct; it is possible that the Americans are wrong. For the moment we content ourselves with pointing out how great is the difference between the two countries and that much work must be done before they can get close enough together to have at least a charitable sympathy with each other's way of thinking; to say nothing of accepting each other's views.

The world war brought many new issues to a crisis. The Negro question was one of them. The American came over to France and quite naturally took it for granted that all the world shared his points of view, or at least would do so as soon as they heard the powerful arguments which the American assumed he was always ready to produce. Among other ideas, the American brought his settled convictions on the Negro questions. He was astounded to find that the Frenchman had no such ideas, and furthermore let it be known very emphatically that he had not the slightest intention of taking up with the American point of view. The American from the northern states always presented that well-known philosophy of equality, which, of course, in practice, he rarely ever carries out. Although in his heart he is convinced that

the Negro is entitled to equality as to his rights, yet he has no intention of giving him social equality. On the other hand, our American from the southern states brought with him a prejudice deeper even than he knew, and when he came against the Frenchman's attitude towards the Negro question, there was a conflict too bitter for words. The local gossip in nearly all the French villages where American soldiers were encamped is filled with stories and legends illustrating the constant conflict of American and French ideals relative to the justice that the black man receives at the hands of his white brother.

The French boast of their ideals of "liberte, egalite, fraternite." For them the above philosophy is a kind of religious dogma. It means anything, everything and nothing; it is like the way the American uses the word "democracy." These expressions are invoked whenever there is a cause or issue that needs to be "put across." The Frenchman is persuaded that he is putting into execution his high conceptions of culture and humanity in the attitude which he professes to take towards the Negro. For him, it is one of liberty, equality, fraternity. He, in turn, is astonished at his American friend, but for the opposite reason. He is amazed that America, that synonym of liberty and justice, should countenance an attitude once barbarous and unworthy towards the black man. The Frenchman feels that the American needs some lessons in enlightenment, while the American on his side, feels that the Frenchman needs to know a few more things about the Negro. (The second article in this series will appear in tomorrow's issue.)

Chicago Herald
SOUNDS LIKE STODDARD'S "REVOLT AGAINST CIVILIZATION."

Battle Creek, Mich., Oct. 17.—Why do you call R. L. B.'s view of the Negro problem a "southern view"? 10/24/22
I believe a great harm is being done by politicians, editors and preachers by teaching that all men are equal, and the harm that will come out of it will fall heavily on the Negroes; it is they who are being wronged by this teaching, for it is false.

Our Declaration of Independence says all men are created equal; this is not true. It says this is self-evident; this is absurd.

More and more am I convinced of the folly of this equality idea now being aired everywhere. There is no equality. Always there will be master and servant, leaders and followers, rulers and the ruled.

Let men be men, and women women; let whites be whites, and Negroes Negroes. It is no small part of wisdom for one to know his proper station and keep it.

D. DAVIDSON.

Race Problem - 1922

United States.

Georgia Governor Hits Intolerance In Tech Address

Thomas W. Hardwick Makes Attack on Social, Political and Religious Intolerance Monday.

PROMISES HIS HELP TO HIGHER EDUCATION

"Intolerance Is the Most Shameful Thing in the Modern World," Governor Tells Tech Seniors.

In an attack on social, political and religious intolerance, and a plea for moderation, coupled with the pledge to give his hearty support to the cause of higher education in Georgia, featured the commencement oration of Governor Thomas W. Hardwick before fifteen hundred people assembled in an oak grove on the Tech campus Monday morning at the thirty-third commencement of the institution. The class of 1922, numbering 198 seniors, were given their diplomas at the conclusion of the exercises by the former president of Tech, Dr. K. G. Matheson.

"Moderation is the very opposite of intolerance," declared the governor. "Intolerance is the most shameful thing in the modern world, and if allowed to rule will blacken the pages of American history. It is contrary to the principles and pillars upon which the commonwealth of Georgia was founded, it runs directly counter to those fundamental doctrines of human rights and human liberties so clearly and unanswerably voiced by that great southern statesman, Thomas Jefferson, in the Declaration of Independence.

Modernization Is Cornerstone.

"On the other hand moderation is one of the cornerstones of our com-

monwealth, upon which has been builded the greatness of America. It is part of the soil and spirit of Georgia. Independence of political and religious beliefs, and consideration of the rights of others, have long been recognized as the basis upon which true American democracy rests, and to do away with moderation means the ruin of democratic principles."

Governor Hardwick declared that wisdom and justice were the other principles, in addition to moderation, upon which the constitution of Georgia rested. He pointed out that the great charter, wrested from King John, of England, several centuries ago by the barons of Runnymede, contained these principles of wisdom, justice and moderation, and James Oglethorpe brought them to America and established them in the early colony of Georgia, which he founded "for the oppressed of all lands and for peoples of every nation who were persecuted for religious or political beliefs."

Governor Hardwick said that equal and exact justice for all men, black or white, rich or poor, was the proudest boast of our modern civilization. The third cornerstone of our civilization is wisdom, and wisdom is not necessarily the same as education. Wisdom is common sense and practical vision and is essential to true education."

Value of Education.

Governor Hardwick devoted a great part of his address to education, which he said was necessary to preserve and foster the spirit of Georgia. "Until we wipe out the stain of illiteracy in this state, we have not spent enough money on education. For my part I mean to do all I can to get this state to spend more money on education and educational institutions."

"We have a wonderful state here, rivalled by none save California, in either climate or natural resources. If Georgia was surrounded by a Chinese wall we could produce practically every necessity and luxury of life

right here within our own borders, in the 58,000 square miles of the Empire State.

"I have been in every part of Georgia. I know it and I love every square foot of it. We have a state here beautified by nature and glorified by history, extending from the north where stately mountains pierce the crystal sky to the plains of the south where the mighty ocean rolls on the shining sands of the coast. Brave men in the past have made it what it is today, and it is the duty of men like you graduates to write its history of tomorrow."

Ovation for Matheson.

A great ovation greeted Dr. Matheson, present head of the Drexel Institute in Philadelphia, when he declared that "the finest investment the state of Georgia could make to develop her vast natural resources is financial aid to the Georgia Institute of Technology," and pointed out to Governor Hardwick that he could write himself "eternally on the pages of Georgia history by helping higher education in the state." Dr. Matheson arrived in Atlanta Saturday to present the diplomas to the graduates at the request of the faculty and trustees.

The processional of seniors and the faculty opened the commencement exercises at ten o'clock Monday morning. A mighty Tech yell greeted the address and introduced the speakers.

Chancellor Barrow, of the University of Georgia, delivered an address to the graduates, telling them of what their life work meant to the world, and the necessity to sticking to their ideals if they meant to achieve success. The closing address to the graduates was delivered by ex-Governor N. E. Harris, president of the Tech Board of Trustees, one of the men instrumental in founding Tech and bringing it to its present position of eminence in the educational world.

"This is a great institution," declared the former governor, "I want to congratulate you men on the hard work and great effort you have put forth to receive your diplomas. I regard you as all my boys, and I want to do anything for you that I can do at any time."

Valedictory Address.

Albert Hammond Staton, noted star of the gridiron, delivered the valedictory address of the class on the subject, "The Technical Spirit," which he declared to be the spirit of constructive building. "Hard work at high standards of scholarship represent the spirit of Tech," declared the famous star of the Golden Tornado, "and this spirit at the college leads to success in one's life work. Here at Tech we study the laws of nature; the finest sort of culture a man can have is a knowledge of these laws. The

atmosphere of Georgia Tech is one of upbuilding and of making the greatest use of ourselves to our fellow men."

Willis A. Sutton, superintendent of the Atlanta schools, awarded prizes as follows: The Walter P. Andrews Oratorical medal to R. W. Bennett, the Scottish Rite Essay medal to L. G. Clark, and the scholarship key in the college of commerce to A. D. Sessions. Scholarship gold T's were awarded to G. P. Bartlett, L. M. Blumenthal, V. L. Borum, I. R. Carlisle, H. M. Carter, A. J. Cooper, D. D. Cunliff, H. K. Everett, S. M. Hamilton, J. B.

N. Y. C. TRIBUNE

APRIL 23, 1922

A Negro on "Birthright"

By A. L. Jackson

Mr. Jackson is the editor of "The Crisis," the negro newspaper published in Chicago.

THE publishers of "Birthright" announce that it is "an amazing book on a theme which has never before been so adequately treated or so honestly used in the interest of that sort of fiction which is in the best sense the truth about life."

We cannot swallow all of that statement, but we are of the opinion that Mr. Stribling has by writing this book made a bid for the same ladder of fame on which Ray Stannard Baker, Mary White Ovington, Thomas Jesse Jones, H. W. Grady and other well-intentioned white persons have climbed from comparative obscurity to public notice and acclaim.

We are in a peculiar position as we review this novel of Mr. Stribling's. While we were spared the experience of being born in the South, thereby escaping some of the white man's Kultur in our youth, we share with Peter Siner, Mr. Stribling's hero, the distinction and privilege of being an alumnus of the oldest educational institution in this country.

We plead guilty to a brown complexion of high visibility. We have ridden the Illinois Central into Cairo on a Pullman, argued with the conductor, as Peter Siner did, sometimes successfully and sometimes to no purpose. We have cherished the same dream to help work out a program which would lead black folk to justice and peace and white folk to light and reason. For these and other reasons we have read this novel with considerable interest.

M. R. STRIBLING is presented as a Southerner of Norwegian descent. His novel gives proof of this double heritage. In that cold North-ern country of his forebears his people grew accustomed to looking facts

in the face and dealing with them as facts rather than as sentimental myths. We believe that this habit has remained with the author despite his Southern training, for he has attempted in this novel to present things as he saw them, which is not the habit of Southerners as a rule, where colored people are concerned. There is too much of tradition and inbred prejudice to overcome. The proof of the fact that he did not altogether escape the Southern virus is found in his apparent belief in the shibboleth that negroes have a peculiar odor a step or two removed from cattle, when, as a matter of fact, it is simply a question of a people low in the economic scheme of things who have not yet learned to wash their faces on the daily morning tub—thanks to the customs of the country in which they live, which forces them to live in "nigger towns" like the one described by the author.

AS A STORY this tale is well written and absorbs the reader. The estrangement between mother and son, the death scene in her little cabin, the depiction of life in "Nigger Town" are well done and bespeak the work of an honest and accomplished workman.

The characterization of the Southern whites and their utter indifference to the lives of the blacks, together with their complete contempt for any personality, male or female, educated or ignorant, will start a riot anywhere in the South because it is so true to life and conditions in most any Southern community.

One must keep in mind, of course that this story is laid in a small Southern town of a few hundred souls. Therefore, it is but an incomplete picture of the so-called problem. On the other hand, it truly represents the South, which is largely a country of small towns, farms and plantations.

Urban life and civilization in the South are somewhat behind the procession, compared with the rest of the country. Therefore, Bourbonism, bigotry and ignorance are entrenched firmly and make the race problem doubly difficult to work out. We believe that this book will be the beginning of a new era for writers on "the question" because it is so far in advance of what has been handed to us heretofore.

The author strives to keep the balance even by matching the weaknesses of the white with those of the black. His too evident effort to be dispassionate will be questioned by some, but then the publishers have to keep an eye on the reading public and its preconceived notions.

Without giving away too much of the story, we want to discuss its ending. The author dismisses Peter with the dictum that he went through Harvard and came out still a negro. All right: what would you expect? Surely, not a white man. But after reading this tale you will want to ask: What is a negro? Then Mr. Stribling puts our credulity to a very severe test. He asks us to believe that Peter Siner, the son of a white man by a black woman, would make a mulatto girl his wife who had been used by a poor white playmate and about to become a mother because she could not escape the houndings of this hungry white fiend. No man, white or black, would need to go to Harvard to learn what to do in circumstances like this. The most ignorant negro would have devoted the rest of his life to properly punishing this despoiler of his sweetheart, and as for making the unfortunate girl the mother of future progeny by marriage—well, I leave that to you. Harvard has been accused of doing some queer things to her sons, but this outrages one's good sense.

We wish we could give proper credit and praise to F. Luis Mora, who did the drawings which illustrate the story. They are the best things we have seen in many a day and give the spirit of the story in some respects better than the story itself.

TRAILING AN AUTHOR

T. S. Stribling, Who Wrote the Much-Discussed Novel, "Birthright," Is Discovered in His Tennessee Home. He Tells How He Came to Write It, and How the White Southerner Feels Towards the Negro.

By ROBERT PICKETT

"Birthright," a novel presenting the modern, educated, high-thinking Negro, and dealing with the relationship of the white and black races in the South, is going to be one of the most discussed novels of the season. Gertrude Atherton says "it is a remarkable and significant book." Charles Hanson Towne of the New York Tribune says "it is the greatest American novel of a decade." The president of a Southern university, in the course of a public dinner recently, devoted an hour to its discussion. And while the novel was running as a serial in The Century Magazine the author received a bushel or so of letters from people from all over the country, ranging from fiercely damnable to extravagantly laudatory.

H. G. Wells last year, before he had seen "Birthright," said a novel was due in America dealing with just the sort of character Mr. Stribling uses in "Birthright."

In order to reach the home of the author of "Birthright," I followed a sequence of jerkwater railroads to Perryville, Tenn., and then went up the Tennessee river to Clifton in an

makes an "ell" and finishes in a cistern house, while the other continues straight northward and finally winds up in an old-fashioned smoke house. The plan of the house is further enlivened by a well dug squarely in the middle of the hallway which divides the two strings of rooms.

The well naturally was once out of doors, but the house grew to it and over it and past it. Mr. Stribling admitted when he pointed out the place that it formed a certain source of danger, especially if it should be carelessly left open, but he said he always pointed it out to his guests and warned them against it as they started for the door and that so far he had kept down the casualties to a trifling percent, some figure considerably less than that of the first battle of the Somme.

In person Mr. Stribling is a long lank man of the Tennessee mountaineer type, bald-headed, rather snub-nosed, dish-faced with a wide humorous mouth and a bull-moose chin. He has his study in the eastern string of rooms—the one leading to the cistern-house—and he keeps this in the most violent disorder. In it he has a hotch-potch of books, desks, tables, chairs, valises, clothes, by magazine editors, guns, butterfly illustrations for his stories sent to him by magazine editors, guns, butterfly nets, typewriters, bottles, manuscripts, an invalid's chair in which he stretches out at full length, he writes his stories. He showed me a big roll-top desk in his room filled up with letters about "Birthright."

"That is almost a symposium of American opinion on the Negro question," explained my host. "In my letters about 'Birthright' I have received every shade of sentiment from violent anti-Negro to equally unrestrained pro-Negro. They come in from whites and blacks. All my colored correspondents have been laudatory, although some say I never went far enough."

"What about your white Southern critics?" I inquired, wondering how the Southern people as a whole had accepted the indictment of "Birthright."

"Four-fifths of the letters from white Southerners are laudatory," answered Mr. Stribling earnestly. "I was most agreeably surprised. I knew all the time that in the South there exists a very wide and deep sympathy for the Negro. It is a much more intense and personal sympathy than I believe the Negro ever receives in the North. Up there, they sympathize with the Negro just as they sympathize with the Armenians, impersonally, and at long range; down here we sympathize with the man across the street, and very often with the old rheumatic in our kitchen. A leading Negro journal of Chicago in commenting on the variety of letters received by The Century Magazine concerning 'Birthright' made a series of perfectly logical deductions which showed that most of the rabid anti-Negro letters received by The Century were written by the better class of Southern whites who hated the Negro. I regretted to see such an article appear in that Negro journal because while the logic was very good logic it did not happen to tally with the facts. The educated Southerners have given 'Birthright' a most

sympathetic hearing. A number of them objected to certain philosophizings in the novel, but then readers in the North objected to the same thing. To have any novel break out into a long philosophy is certainly an unmitigated bore, except, of course, when you wrote the thing yourself. You bear with that cheerfully, because you know it couldn't be helped."

"And so you received no 'white' comments at all?" I ventured.

"Oh, yes, I did. One woman in Georgia told me that I had written a disgraceful book, one that would surely stir up trouble between the Negroes and the whites. 'I am of the conviction,' she wrote, 'that you are an octofoon yourself, though I have no doubt that you will accept that as a great compliment.' In conclusion she demands to know why the people of Tennessee didn't run me out of the state. I have been meaning to answer that woman's letter for a long time, and if ever I can think up a good reason why the other Tennesseans don't run me out of the state I'm going to write and tell her why. So far I have not thought up anything convincing. It may be their Southern inertia, or it may be mountaineer ignorance, or it may be charity, or an indifference as to who dwells among them in their state. It's a complex question. I really can't say."

"If you don't mind a trite question," I said, "one that all non-writing folk put to all writers, how did you ever come to do 'Birthright,' and why did you tackle the Negro question?"

"I didn't tackle the Negro question. I never cared a row of soy beans for the Negro question in all my life, but for a number of years I have felt the dramatic possibilities in the mixed white and black life I saw going on about me all the time. I always had an idea I would do a book about Negroes. Two years ago I was at Harvard just as the university was holding its entrance examinations. The grounds were almost deserted except for one Negro lad seated out on a bench by himself. He looked so lonely and woebegone I thought I would go over and cheer the kid up. I felt sure he would be glad to see somebody from the South. Sure enough he was. We sat and talked a long time and he told me all of his plans and ambitions. We talked over the race question, as far as the youngster knew it, of the sort of treatment he hoped to get from the white boys in Harvard. Finally he promised to write me and tell me exactly what happened to him in the Northern university."

"Then I suppose he forgot all about it, for I never heard from him, but I didn't forget him. He was a Mississippi darkey, and I kept wondering what would happen to him when he got back home."

"That, of course, was Peter Siner. 'No, the Negro question, as you Northern folk are inclined philosophically to phrase it, was furthest from my thoughts when I began 'Birthright.' I was simply setting down the sad and funny little thing I knew about the man across the street, at the rheumatic in my kitchen."

SOLUTH MINN HERALD

OCTOBER 27, 1922

NEGRO DEVELOPMENT.

There are more than ten million persons of negro blood in the United States. To be exact, the number in the year 1920 was 10,463,131. Of every ten Americans, one is a negro. If, however, from the total given the number of all colored persons having white blood were subtracted, the total negro population would be a much smaller figure.

Inasmuch, however, as a person with any negro blood is generally regarded as a negro and as such always affiliates with negroes, the number given may stand.

Negroes are native Americans of long standing. In probably a majority of cases their ancestors lived in this country at least a hundred and fifty years. They have no land to which they can look back with hereditary affection. They have no civilization behind them. This alone is their land. If the American flag is not their flag, what flag have they?

Since the ancestors of our negroes were corraled by black masters on African coasts and carried in slave ships across the sea to be sold to white masters on American shores and islands, the record of the race has been progressive and upward. The condition in Africa whence they come is the condition whence all white races have sprung; but the white emerged from barbarism ages since, while the negro outcoming has been comparatively recent.

The country now is dotted with negro churches, schools and colleges. They have invaded the professions and in spite of difficulties they advance in the trades.

Consider that there are 925,708 negro farmers in the country, the average size of their farms being 47.3 acres. A great record truly for a race so recently emancipated.

They have their faults? No doubt of that, but in recalling that fact let it be remembered that they have their virtues as well. And what race is perfect? The virtues of the negro are best awakened by justice and fair play. One thing is sure. The better white men are, the better will be the negroes about him.

The next fifty years should see great negro progress. Their industrial progress is reasonably assured, and they will add great names in the fine arts to the long list already to their credit.

NASHVILLE TENN BANNER
APRIL 2, 1922



T. S. STRIBLING.

Famous young Tennessee author.

asthmatic gasoline launch. On the whariboat at Clifton an inquiry for T. S. Stribling evoked a thoughtful stare from the whariboat caretaker. After a moment's consideration he said, "I guess you mean Tom Stribling. You'll find him up at Mrs. Stribling's house."

The Stribling home is an ancient, before-the-war house with new rooms tacked on from behind as the decades demanded, until now it runs back from the street in two strings. One string

Race Problem - 1922 United States

Why the Negro Complains

IN FRANCISCO CAL. CALL
DECEMBER 28, 1922

THE most popular argument against the anti-lynching bill, just defeated at Washington, was that it meant the punishment of the innocent along with the guilty. It provided a federal fine for the county in which a lynching occurred, which meant, of course, that everybody in the county, whether taking part in the lynching or not, would have to pay a share of the fine. That gave Southerners who do not want lynching to stop a good club to beat the bill to death, along with their threat to block other legislation if the lynching bill was not killed. This neglected the fact, of course, that lynching in the South is a matter of public opinion and that Negroes in that county would also be compelled to pay the fine—probably willingly.

Southerners say that they "know how to deal with the Negroes" and that they ought to be left alone; it's their problem. However, it isn't. The South doesn't want the Negroes to become better citizens of this country. It wants them to work, and that's all. The Negroes of the United States have several excellent organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is valuable for Negroes to belong to these organizations, and valuable for this country; but when organizers go through Southern states seeking members they are treated as criminals and driven out of town, beaten, and tarred and feathered.

Other Southerners, too, say that if the Negro doesn't like it in the South he can go North any time he feels like it. But the Negroes learned differently during the war, when it was easy to obtain employment in the North and they wanted to leave their homes. Thousands did go, but they went against the natural complaints of the South, which did not want to see its labor supply disappear. When the Negroes persisted they were argued with, threatened, and even taken from trains after they had bought their tickets.

These are the abuses of which the Negro complains

Chicago Defender, Dec.
Chicago Tribune's
"Peculiar Wisdom"
11-4-22

The Chicago Tribune since the days of Lincoln has been a barren source of wisdom on the race question. So accustomed are we to the bias and prejudice shown towards us as

a race in its columns that we pay little attention to the advice of its editors on those matters affecting us as a race. If the Tribune would prove its interest in our welfare by giving our men a chance to work in its offices and plant instead of barring them in favor of foreigners and their sons; if the Tribune had not given encouragement to the cowardly, un-American Ku Klux Klan by advertising its malicious propaganda, and if it did not on every possible occasion seek to propagate and spread the prejudices of Southern whites, we might be tempted to give ear to the gratuitous advice of its editors.

The Chicago Defender is a commercial newspaper like the Tribune. Measured by the tests taught by that child of the Tribune, the Medill School of Journalism, the cut of the Paris beauty with the Siki silhouette on her arm was run in our columns. That test asks three questions: Is it news? Is it important? Is it true? That anything pertaining to Siki is news no one will deny who reads the white American press. Its importance may be judged from the prominent position given to photographs and stories of Siki in any daily paper. The photograph itself answers the question as to its truth or authenticity. The caption under the cut stated simply that the French women are proud to honor a valorous countryman, although he is not white and just a prize fighter. It further stated that American chivalry is unable to rise to such heights of honest approbation. Nothing was said about intermarriage. The Tribune calls the lady a Paris "demi-mondaine." Does the Tribune believe that even a demi-mondaine is to be regarded as a superior being by us? Doubtless Harriet Beecher Stowe and her associates were called names as bad or worse by those who willfully and selfishly perverted their ideas. We know the usual question asked by men who hold the Tribune's views, of white men who ask for fair play for the Race, is "Do you want your sister to marry a Negro?" What does that prove? Nothing but the ignorance and blind prejudice of the questioner.

The Tribune editors doubtless used to play the boy game of shinny. They are doubtless familiar with the cry of "shinny on your own side" used in that game. Why do these gentlemen insist on doing all the shinnying on our side, even though we face them with four million mulattoes, living evidence of the falsity of the Tribune statement that there is a profound instinct against race mixture? No one who will face facts can believe the Tribune.

We admire and believe in the French because they can rise above color and treat individuals of the Race according to their personal attainments, worth and character. We accept no advice from papers like the Tribune whose prejudice and bias lay the foundation for racial discord, misunderstanding and riot. We are capable of leading and advising our own because we allow no white man to maintain what he thinks is his inherent right to correct and direct all Negroes.

(Signed)

Robert S. Abbott



Robert S. Abbott

negro Herald 10/28/22
MISLEADING PROPAGANDA
new York

THE front page of the October 19th issue of the Chicago Daily Tribune contains a cartoon which has the characteristics of "misleading propaganda."

The cartoon is headlined "The Rising Tide of Color." First comes a picture of a French bugler calling the native Africans to arms. Then follows the picture of Siki knocking out Carpentier. Then follows the picture of Siki lionized in the French cabarets, with men and women running after him, crying out "I want to get his autograph!" Then follows the picture of an African with his Turkish fez on, haranguing his fellows, while two European officials nearby are saying, "We'll have trouble one of these days."

Under the inscriptions are the following phrases, which, put together, make a complete sentence: "After recruiting nearly 850,000 colored warriors and workers to Europe in the Great War—and teaching them how to use firearms and knock out the white champion of Europe—and making a black Senegalese the idol of the Paris cabarets—will it be any wonder if Africa seethes with dreams of equality and military aspirations?"

The Chicago Tribune is very far afield in its generalizations. During the past thirty years, Peter Jackson and Sam Langford knocked out the best Caucasian fighters of England, Australia and America. George Dixon, Joe Gans, Joe Wolcott and Jack Johnson won the featherweight, lightweight, welterweight and heavyweight championships of the world respectively; and Harry Wills has been in the championship class for the last three or four years. And yet these fistic victories did not cause Africa to seethe with dreams of equality and military aspirations. Why, then, should the victory of Siki, the battling Senegalese, over Carpentier, the athletic idol of France, have such magic effect?

It would have been better if the cartoonist for the Chicago Tribune who is more smart than wise, had unfolded the logical implications of the first cartoon. In that cartoon the French bugler calls out: "To arms! Help crush militarism!! 'Defend civilization!!'" And the African soldiers, with fezes on heads and rifles on shoulders, are exultingly leaping from Africa to Europe 850,000 strong. They fought, bled and died as heroes in France, Flanders and Mesopotamia. They helped to hurl back the Germans at Paris and Verdun. Many were decorated for bravery and gallantry. Is it any wonder that they should desire some of the blessings of that civilization that they gave all they had and poured out their life blood to save? Is the cartoonist for the Chicago Tribune so dull and so mentally dense that he does not see this?

The Sun's Agitation

The agitation in the Baltimore Sun, a white daily newspaper, against colored prohibition officers arresting white violators of the Prohibition law, shows race prejudice raised to the nth degree.

If it is illogical, unwise, and creative of bad feeling between the races for a colored officer of the law to arrest a white person, is it not equally provocative of race friction, unwise and illogical for white prohibition officers to arrest colored violators of the law?

If not, why?

"ADVICE TO NEGRO LEADERS"

THE TRIBUNE of this city in its issue of Oct. 25 took occasion to give what it is pleased to term "some advice to Negro leaders." The occasion for this gratuitous so-called advice was based upon a photograph which recently appeared on the front page of this paper. The word "advice" was a misnomer. Instead of being judicious advice from a friendly source it was a veiled threat from an unfriendly source. Since it appeared in the columns of the "world's, greatest newspaper" which in many respects is the world's smallest newspaper, its mischievous effect will not be seriously felt.

Chicago Defender, Ill.
CARTOONS are usually intended to point a moral. Whether the moral be good or bad depends largely upon one's conception of the impression that is intended to be made. In its issue of Oct. 19 there appeared upon the front page of the Tribune a cartoon which was not only disgraceful, contemptible and mischievous, but would do an immense amount of harm in the inculcation of racial prejudice and antagonism were it not for the fact that the Tribune's well known attitude on the race question makes anything that may appear in its columns bearing upon that subject, whether it be a cartoon or editorial, worthless and of very little effect.

11-11-22
WHAT THE TRIBUNE seems to be most concerned about is "race self-preservation." In other words, the maintenance of the purity of the Caucasian blood. If it were possible for this to be made an accomplished fact the Tribune and all others of the same school would have our best wishes and most loyal co-operation. But the place to begin the reformation is at the door of the American white man. The millions of half-bloods in this country today are the offspring of white fathers. This is especially true of the Southern states of America, where there are rigid laws to keep the two races separate and apart.

IN THE ISLAND of Cuba, where there is about an equal number of white and Colored inhabitants, there are no laws, rules or regulations providing for race separation in any particular. In fact there is no country on the globe where there is less restraint and more freedom of intercourse, social and otherwise, than in Cuba. A criminal assault upon a white woman by a black man is never heard of and lynch law is a thing unknown. Yet statistics show that in any one county in the state of Georgia, for example, in which the two races are about equal in point of numbers, you will find more Colored children the offspring of white fathers than in the whole of the island of Cuba.

WHY IS THIS? Perhaps the Tribune does not know. It is our duty to give them the necessary information. Because in the first place popular sentiment, which is stronger and more potential than the statutes, tolerates cohabitation between white men and Colored women, but does not tolerate cohabitation between Colored men and white women. The result is that white women and Colored men are the chief sufferers. Human nature is the same the world over with all races and groups. Nature has endowed the human race, male and female, with certain instincts the legitimate gratification of which should be the ambition of all. Woman's highest ambition should be that of a wife and mother, and all men are supposed to be imbued with that instinct which seeks companionship with the opposite sex. Why through extraneous methods should unnatural and unjust limitations be placed in the path of white women and Colored men? But for these limitations each group and each race, as is true of Cuba and other countries, would seek and obtain the gratification of these instincts in their own respective groups and races in a legitimate way.

PERHAPS THE TRIBUNE does not know that in some sections of the South it is difficult for a white woman to get a husband and much more difficult for a Colored man to get a wife. Why? Because society draws the line at the marriage altar. A white man can be the head of a Colored family and still be a gentleman and recognized in decent and respectable

society among his own race. He is socially ostracized only in the event that he should lead to the altar in honorable wedlock the mother of his Colored children, and since this cannot be lawfully done, the law prohibiting racial intermarriage is a shield and a protection to him in mixing the blood of the two races.

THE MORAL that was intended to be drawn in the picture that appeared in this paper was to illustrate and point out the hypocrisy and false pretenses of the white Americans, who are fortunately in the minority, who are constantly preaching the doctrine of the purity of the Caucasian race but who do not practice what they preach. As a general rule those who are the loudest and most demonstrative in denouncing and condemning racial intermarriage are the very ones who lead dual lives and are engaged clandestinely in mixing the blood of the two races. If the Tribune can correct these evils or start a movement that will have a tendency in that direction we can assure that journal it will have the co-operation, assistance and support of its contemporary, the World's Greatest Weekly—the Chicago Defender.

JUNE 11, 1922

JUDGE ANDREW J. COBB ON CURRENT ISSUES

Eminent Georgia Jurist Writes on Ohio's Sentiment Toward the South, Judge Powell Speech and Other Interesting Matters.

Editor The Journal: In your issue of 5th appears a short news story of President Harding's voluntary appearance and participation in the memorial service on Sunday, 4th, of the Confederate Veterans at Arlington cemetery.

This incident calls to mind the conduct of other Ohioans relatively to southern traditions. There must be a sentiment in Ohio which is sympathetic with the south. We find distinct traces of it during the past sixty years at least. In 1861, Salmon P. Chase, afterwards secretary of the treasury and Chief Justice, in the peace congress in the year named, announced the principle of emancipation with compensation.

The suggestion came too late. The issue had been joined, and emancipation with compensation was not acceptable to either side. Clement L. Vallandigham a member of congress from Ohio during the Civil War, was so outspoken in expressions of sympathies with the attitude of the south in reference to the interpretation of the Constitution that he was subjected to trial by court-martial for seditious utterances. Ulysses S. Grant, a native of Ohio, accorded to southern soldiers fair terms of surrender, protected them from the civil authority when proceeded against in violation of the paroles he had granted, and met the phrase of the less fair, "Make treason odious," by the immortal phrase, "Let us have peace."

Rutherford B. Hayes, the next president born in Ohio, held out the hand of amity and friendship to the south, by calling into his cabinet a Confederate soldier, afterward conferring upon him a federal judgeship and appointing numerous postmasters without regard to politics.

William McKinley, of big heart and kindly spirit, had the temerity to declare that the time had arrived when it was the duty of the United States to care for the resting places of Confederate soldiers.

And what shall be said of William H. Taft, the great soul who notwithstanding our disagreement with him on political matters has endeared himself to all right thinking southern people? He was brave enough to encounter prejudice, political, sectional and religious. He appointed as chief justice, a man born in the south, a Confederate soldier, a Democrat and a Roman Catholic. One who would say that he made a mistake in this appointment is either possessed of a mind that is narrow or a soul which is shriveled. He appointed another Confederate soldier a member of the supreme court and the son of another.

And now comes another president born in Ohio. Sitting in the White House on Sunday he sees in the papers of the day that a service of memory of brave soldiers of the Confederacy is to take place at the National cemetery. He has not been invited to be present. The failure to extend the invitation no doubt was due to the gentlemanly instinct of the south never to embarrass, especially one already distressed by the burden of office and the consequent embarrassments.

He quietly found his way to the cemetery and in a modest way made himself a part of the throng. His desire was only in a silent way to express himself in sympathy with that which honored the brave. But he was not permitted to remain silent. He was asked to speak. He spoke of a reunited country, of Joseph Wheeler, and Fitzhugh Lee, of the courage and bravery of the southern soldier, how he rebuilt his section, snatching victory out of defeat.

Hear his concluding words: "It is easier to forgive and forget if you are on the triumphant side, but it takes a bigger heart to forgive and forget if you have gone down in defeat to the lost cause. I would like to see more of this fellowship and comradeship which marks a united America."

We disagree with President Harding about many things but we find ourselves in agreement concerning some matters.

We disagreed with him in some of his utterances in his Birmingham speech, where he told us it was desirable and best that the negro should be a factor in the politics of the country. In our view this is not best for us or the negro. It is far better for all concerned that the government shall be under the control of the white man. It is now and it will so continue. Laws consistent with the constitution will ever appear when necessary to bring about this end. We were in sympathy with him in his appeal that justice should be done to the negro where his rights of person and property are involved. With the whole machinery of the government in the hands of white men, it is a shame when ever a white man does or permits to be done an injustice to a negro. If we have power to do justice and either willfully or negligently abuse the power, we are unworthy of the power. The negro no less than the white man has under our state constitution guarantees that he will not be deprived of life, liberty or property except by due process of law, and that protection to his person and property shall be impartial and complete. We have the power to enforce these guarantees. Have we done it? The negative answer is found in the current news of almost every week. I see no authority, under the present interpretation of the constitution, for federal interference in the matter of lynching. However, we must not forget that interpretation may change. Interpretation has changed. I have sounded a warning heretofore in reference to this matter. I sound it again. If the states do not enforce the law against murder by lynching, congress will endeavor to do so and the necessary interpretation to justify the course of congress will be forthcoming. Too much emphasis cannot be laid on law enforcement.

That portion of the recent address of Judge Arthur G. Powell before the Georgia Bar Association relating to the prohibition law is to be regretted. The language in which he couched his criticisms is to be far more regretted. There is a difference of opinion about the law. Many think it too drastic at some points. However, we must be on our

guard in criticism of law. The trouble now is there are too many good people violating the law. The bootlegger has the moral support of many good people. He knows that they entertain views similar to his on the law and he takes this as his license to violate it. The law is subject to improvement, but improvement will never come by violation and encouragement to violate. I know Judge Powell too well to think he intended by his words to encourage violation of law, but he has unwittingly done so.

In his coming years, and I hope they will be many, he will look back upon this portion of his address as one of the most regrettable incidents of his life. He will in due time revert with satisfaction to the efforts of his youth under a healthy environment when he aided in the cause of temperance and prohibition. I identified myself with this cause in my youth and looking back over fifty years I have no regret, although I cannot say that all laws have been perfect.

With all the evils now confronting us in reference to the prohibition law, I do not hesitate to say that conditions are far better than they ever were in the past. If there is one to combat this view, it is either a young man who does not know or an old man who has lost his memory. There is, however, one portion of Judge Powell's address that has escaped public attention.

It is where he deplored religious intolerance. This gem in his address should not be lost in the confusion resulting from other portions. All fair minded persons will approve his utterances on this subject. No person should be proscribed on account of his views on religious subjects. The law does not permit it. But an unhealthy public sentiment may accomplish it.

We acquired religious freedom at the cost of blood and treasure. We should not permit it to be destroyed. Each of us assert the right to think for ourself on this subject. We must accord the same right to others.

It is most important now to lay emphasis on religious freedom when religious intolerance is parading over the country under the masque of Americanism.

Yours very truly,
ANDREW J. COBB

Athens, June 7, 1922.

"SOCIAL EQUALITY"

for American, Baltimore, 7.
By JAMES O'NEAL
(Socialist, in his pamphlet urging white and black workers to unite)

7-7-22

There is nothing harder to make the prejudiced white understand than the question of "social equality." The same white worker who holds this prejudice may be working in the same ditch, on the same farm, or in the same factory with Negro workers. He may be working for the same master. He may be getting wages that are little more than the Negro worker. He may be living in a shack that he calls "home," just as the Negro worker does. In the South his children may be deprived of an education just as the Negro's children often are.

Yet this white worker, who in every respect has been reduced to a level equal to that of the Negro worker, is afraid of "social equality!" In the South many such white workers believe that they are a part of what is called "white supremacy." As a matter of fact, both the Negro and such white workers are victims of a "white supremacy" exercised by white exploiters.

Such white workers need not fear social equality. The white masters have placed both Negro and white labor on the same plane of equality of servitude. They will stay in this equality until both join hands to liberate themselves from those who buy their labor power and exploit them in the labor market.

But there is another and more intimate sense in which this fear of "social equality" is expressed. It is feared that the emancipation of

Negro and white workers would bring about some intimate personal and social relations of the two races by force of law or legal compulsion.

Nothing of the kind. The matter of intimate associates and companions is a matter of personal choice and will always remain such. No law can compel one Irishman to associate with another Irishman if he does not want to. No law can compel one Negro to associate with another Negro if he does not want to. On the other hand, if an Irishman chooses a Negro for a personal friend and both find each other's company congenial, that is their affair and nobody else's.

The writer of this booklet is of Irish extraction. There are some Irishmen I do not care to associate with on a basis of social equality. I have some Negro friends of whom I am fond. Among my most intimate acquaintances are Jews and Russians. There are some white Americans whom I despise. Others I cherish with deep affection.

Whoever and whatever my personal associates and friends may be, they are a matter of free choice on my part and on their part. There is no compulsion or force on either side. Yet, as a wage worker, I may be compelled, in order to hold my job, to work by the side of a man whom I detest. What there is of compulsion in this matter of human association comes from capitalist society today. If a man is opposed to forced equality in human relationships he should be opposed to the wage system of robbery which often imposes an equality that is personally distasteful.

Much more could be said on this matter, but it is too big a subject to deal with in this booklet. A separate book would be required to do it full justice. We would have to consider the Jim Crow car, the theater, the hotel, amusements, and a hundred other institutions around which cluster racial prejudices. I must remain satisfied with dealing with the deepest prejudice of all—the prejudice associated with personal human relations between peoples of different races and of the same races and nationalities.

If the Daily Press Dared Tell the Truth

Chicago Defender

7-1-22

TRUTH FIRST
NO MATTER HOW
IT HURTS

The Daily Truth

TRUTH FIRST
NO MATTER HOW
IT HURTS

JULY 1, 1922.

GIRL SREAMS "RAPE" WHEN SURPRISED BY FATHER — NEGRO LYNCHED.

LYNCHTON, GA.—FOR SEVERAL YEARS ETHEL HANLEY, WHO IS WELL KNOWN IN SOCIAL CIRCLES HERE, HAS BEEN HOLDING CLANDESTINE MEETINGS WITH JOHN JONES, A NEGRO PORTER EMPLOYED BY HER FATHER FRANK T. HANLEY, THE WEALTHY COTTON MERCHANT HERE.

THURSDAY EVENING MISS HANLEY MET THE NEGRO AT THEIR USUAL TRYSTING PLACE, A SPOT IN WARREN PARK. THE GIRL'S FATHER, RETURNING FROM A BUSINESS MEETING, ACCIDENTALLY CAME UPON THE COUPLE AS THEY SPOONED. FEARING DISGRACE THE GIRL PRETENDED TO STRUGGLE AND SCREAM FOR HELP. AMID

SCREAMS SHE TOLD HER FATHER THAT THE NEGRO HAD ATTACKED HER. A CROWD WAS SOON ATTRACTED BY MISS HANLEY'S SCREAMS AND, WHEN THE FATHER TOLD OF AN ATTEMPTED ATTACK UPON HIS DAUGHTER CRIES OF "LYNCH HIM," KILL HIM" CAME FROM THE CROWD. THE NEGRO, PROTESTING INNOCENCE WAS TAKEN TO THE COURTHOUSE SQUARE WHERE HE WAS CHAINED TO A TREE. HIS CLOTHING WAS SATURATED WITH GASOLINE AND A TORCH APPLIED. POLICE LOOKED ON AS THE LYNCHING PROGRESSED. REV. JOSEPH B. SMITH WAS AMONG THE

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 2)

MILLIONAIRE'S DAUGHTER ELOPES WITH NEGRO

NEW YORK, N.Y.—DETERMINED TO MARRY HER NEGRO CHAUFFEUR IN SPITE OF PROTESTS FROM HER PARENTS, MISS EDWINA McCALL, DAUGHTER OF J.P. McCALL, MILLIONAIRE BROKER, ELOPED WITH JAMES K. JOHNSON TODAY.



FOR SEVERAL MONTHS MISS McCALL HAS SECRETLY KEPT COMPANY WITH THE NEGRO. HER PARENTS LEARNED OF THE AFFAIR AND THREATENED TO SEND THE GIRL TO EUROPE. NEWSPAPERS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY HAVE TOLD OF THE AFFAIR, BUT ALL FAILED TO PRINT THE FACT THAT THE MAN IS A NEGRO.

REFUSES TO WALK IN GUTTER; NEGRO MOBBED

HEMP, MISS.—WHEN ROBERT T. LARKIN, A NEGRO, REFUSED TO GET OFF THE SIDEWALK WHEN FRANK L. WALTON PASSED HIM HE WAS SEVERELY BEATEN BY A MOB OF WHITES TODAY. POLICE AIDED IN THE BEATING, ASSERTING THAT "A NIGGER'S PLACE IS IN THE GUTTER." NEWSPAPERS HERE, OF COURSE, STATED THAT THE NEGRO HAD INSULTED A WHITE WOMAN.

'REFORMER' INJURED

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—REV. L.J. JONES OF THE "SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF IMMORALITY AMONG NEGROES" WAS INJURED LAST NIGHT WHEN THE AUTO IN WHICH HE WAS JOYRIDING WITH SEVERAL WOMEN OF SCARLET MORALS WAS WRECKED. FOUR QUARTS OF WHISKEY WERE FOUND IN THE CAR

RICH GIRL IN RAID WITH NEGRO

CHICAGO, ILL.—AMONG THOSE CAUGHT IN A RAID UPON A "BLACK AND TAN" CABARET HERE LAST WEEK WAS MISS E.W. WARD, WHO MADE REGULAR VISITS TO THE PLACE TO MEET A NEGRO FOR WHOM SHE SWEARS UNDYING LOVE. MISS WARD IS THE DAUGHTER OF L.K. WARD, WEALTHY LUMBERMAN.

WIFE JEALOUS OF MAID; KILLS

DETROIT, MICH.—JEALOUSY CAUSED MRS. B.N. SMITH TO SHOOT AND KILL HER HUSBAND LAST NIGHT. MR. SMITH HAD BECOME INFATUATED WITH THE BEAUTIFUL NEGRO MAID AT THE SMITH HOME AND, CLAIMING THAT SHE WAS MORE ATTRACTIVE AND ADMIRABLE THAN HIS WIFE, HE AROUSED THE ANGER AND JEALOUSY OF MRS. SMITH.

MR. CHENAULT VINDICATES THE NEWS.

The Louisville News has the largest circulation of any Colored newspaper published in Kentucky. This would ordinarily indicate it is the best liked paper—that may be true and yet it is a fact no paper is more misunderstood nor more severely criticised. This of course comes from that lazy, easy-going class that would rather endure the evils we bear than go to the trouble and expense and possible danger of changing the present order of things. This is the class of people who claim The News is an agitator, a disturber of the peaceful relations of the Races and that sort of bunk. *Louisville News 7-1-22*

If The News has "agitated" it has always been for the best interests of the Race. For instance it has "agitated" the question of office-holding both appointive and elective on the ground that Colored men holding public office would go far toward dispelling race prejudice and would give dignity and standing to the Race. It has held that one Colored man in a position of influence could do immeasurable good for the Race. That is why it has fought to have a Colored man in the Legislature, in the City Council and in every part of the Government.

Foolish people contended, "one Negro in the Legislature could do no good." Let's see. On the Republican State Central Committee there is on, lone Colored Man—Mr. Ed. Chenault of Lexington.

Our Republican representatives in Congress, Messrs. Ogden, Langley and Ernst, have miserably failed us even on such a simple, righteous measure as the Anti-lynching bill. None of the so-called Negro-leaders who had fought their own people to elect these lily-white anti-Negro Republicans had enough influence nor nerve to demand of them that they act on this bill. But when the State Central Committee met to take up various party matters, Mr. Ed Chenault, its lone Colored member, took the floor and discussed the lynching situation so earnestly and so eloquently that the committee passed resolutions favoring the Anti-lynching bill and instructed the Republican representatives in Congress to work for its passage.

Of course this action, in the final analysis means nothing since the House had passed the bill without aid from Ogden or Langley and the Senate will not act on it at this session, thus relieving the honorable Mr. Ernst of any embarrassment regarding its "unconstitutionality."

But what we wanted to show is that one, lone Colored man who will can speak for his Race and get results.

Mr. Chenault vindicates The News for all its "agitation" for Race representation.

Print

Race Problem - 1922.

United States.

WILLIAMSPORT PA GRTT

JULY 9, 1922

Progress of the Negro in Dixieland During the Last Sixty Years

IT IS now close to 60 years since the Negro of the South became a free man. President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation was issued in September of 1862, though it did not become effective till Jan. 1, 1863. Thus by the stroke of the president's pen the shackles of bondage were struck from upwards of four millions of black people. What has the Negro done through the years following his release from bondage to prove his worthiness to become not only a free man, but a citizen of the American republic?

Certainly the flight of more than half a century has brought about a considerable change in the character of the Negro as well as in his conditions of living. The old-time Negro of the South, with his dignity, his courtesy, his gentleness, and his devotion to his white people, has almost entirely disappeared. Only here and there does one now come upon one of the old maumas (Negro women) about whom still lingers the charm, the atmosphere of the "quality" Negroes of the old plantations.

Two generations of Negroes—of the "new" Negro—have appeared upon the scene and grown to maturity since the close of the Civil War. So, too, they have arrived to meet far different conditions to those surrounding their ancestors in slavery days. While thousands of the "new" Negroes have realized their opportunities and eagerly seized upon them, other thousands have not, showing an apathy, a shiftlessness altogether unaccountable save that it must come from an inherent strain running back to the old days of childlike dependence. Yet the facts show that never has a race made greater progress mentally, economically, and spiritually in a half century than the Negro people of the South in the years since freedom was given them. Events have demonstrated clearly that the uplift, the salvation of the Negro has lain in his recognition of educational, industrial, and religious advantages, and his readiness to lay hold upon them and make best use of them.

A thirst for knowledge, an insatiable ambition to grasp the best within his reach, have been plainly manifested in the attitude of the Negro of the last two generations. Not only has he sought to obtain an education for himself, but he has eagerly seized upon every opportunity to have his children educated. Negro children do not have to be persuaded or driven to school; they go eagerly. It is rare that there is a truant among them. I have seen them in the rural as well as in the city sections on their way to school like a flock of joyous, chattering blackbirds. The statistics show that the illiteracy of the Negro race has decreased at least 75 per cent since their freedom was proclaimed. The "new" Negro has shown, too, that he can be both industrious and thrifty. Fully 300,000 Negroes of the South today own the farms they cultivate. A large percentage of these 300,000 have comfortable, well furnished homes. The statistics show that fully 15,000,000 acres of cultivated land are owned by the Negroes of the Southland. Other Negroes are in business and in professions. The property owned by these Negroes runs well up into the millions of dollars. The "new" Negro, too, has made creditable, some of them remarkable, advance in industrial progress. Booker T. Washington's school at Tuskegee, Ala., has given eloquent proof of the Negro's aptness for industrial training.

Yet despite these gains, the means to an uplift that the better class Negro of the South has made of his freedom, his right of citizenship, there are throughout the section other thousands of idle, shiftless Negroes, devoid of ambition, living amid the most degraded surroundings and born to criminal tendencies, as the cess pool breeds flies. It is this class of Negroes, insolent, insubordinate, enemies of law and order, with vicious instincts, unbridled, who have been the cause of most of those horrible occurrences that have shocked a nation and placed so dark a blot upon the fair name of the South.

A most distressing feature of the Negro question in the South today is the appalling conditions of poverty and of the utter absence of cleanliness and sanitation in the midst of which so many of them live. The dilapidated Negro cabin with decaying clapboard roof and mud and stick chimney pulling away from its walls or crumbling to ruins is still a familiar sight in the rural sections. So, too, are the miserable shanties crowded together along narrow streets or alleys in the worst city districts, surrounded by piles of filth infested with flies, without sewerage of any description or garbage service, and often without necessary drainage. No wonder the water supply becomes contaminated and the Negro death rate is high. The figures of the latest procurable census report give the death rate of the Negroes of the South as 31 in every thousand, while for the whites it is 17 in each thousand; but little more than half as much.

Much of this poverty and lack of cleanliness is due to the Negro's own shiftlessness and indifference to his surroundings; but in other cases conditions beyond his control are accountable. As a general thing, the Negro of this class is care-free and happy-hearted. If he has a good full meal today, it matters little about the morrow. He shies away from work as long as hunger does not pinch him; and he is constitutionally opposed to allowing himself to be hurried. He takes his "slow time" even when going for the doctor.

For years church boards and other philanthropic organizations have been doing splendid work among the Negroes of the South in the way of their spiritual uplift and physical betterment. But much yet remains to be done by the

white man for his less fortunate black brother.

WHITE PRESS WON'T USE PICTURES OF OUR RACE

The Federated Press carries a report from Washington, D. C., that 5,000 Knights Templar of our Race marched in parade past the White House, where President Harding reviewed them, but no photographs or moving pictures were taken by the cameramen stationed at the executive grounds. On the preceding day a parade of Shriners, reaching more than a mile on Pennsylvania avenue, likewise passed the home of the President, with many bands and dazzling display of uniforms. Again there was no commercial photographer to broadcast the spectacle to the newspaper readers of the country.

"No newspaper will buy a picture of Negro organizations," was the explanation given by the photographers. "These pictures have been very interesting to a large section of the public, but the publishers will not print pictures of Negro social activities. Even the portraits of individual Negroes are discriminated against. For example, when a Chicago Negro secured from the treasury the first charter for a Negro bank in the federal reserve system we took his picture and offered it to our clients. My circuit includes over 100 big papers. Not one would touch it."



A Unitarian Minister on Mississippi

To THE EDITOR OF THE NATION, New York City 8-23-22

SIR: I was born at Summit, Mississippi, November 19, 1893, and lived there for four years, when my family moved to McComb, Mississippi. At the latter place I lived for fourteen years, moving from there in 1911 to Memphis, Tennessee. I am at present a registered voter at Jackson, Mississippi, where my parents now live. Being born and reared in the State of Mississippi I should know something about the State, and I feel that I do, and I agree with everything that Beulah Amidon Ratliff has said about Mississippi in both her articles in *The Nation*. Eleven years ago I would not have made the latter statement, but would have been a very sarcastic critic of Mrs. Beulah Ratliff. What has made that change in my viewpoint? I have become emancipated from the provincialism of not only Mississippi, but of the South, because I dared to think. What has made me think? I have traveled over the North, been abroad, and attended two Northern colleges, and all the time I was receptive to new ideas.

There is one thing more Mrs. Ratliff could have mentioned, namely, that Mississippi and Arkansas are the only two States in this country which have not at least one liberal church. By a liberal church I mean one which has broken with orthodox theology and has not a single dogmatic theological statement to which the members must subscribe. Every State in this country has at least one such church, except the States of Arkansas and Mississippi. Theological orthodoxy and racial orthodoxy are holding Mississippi back from progressing. Before I was emancipated from the theological and racial orthodoxy of the South I not only saw, but helped to do, worse things toward Negroes than were described in the article Mississippi, the Heart of Dixie.

New Orleans, Louisiana, August 2

J. B. TEGARDEN



COTTON PICKER'S CABIN IN THE SOUTH



GOING TO TOWN IN NEGRO "STYLE"

The Negro, Past and Present

NEW YORK HERALD

AUGUST 6, 1922

THE NEGRO IN OUR HISTORY. By Carter Godwin Woodson. The Associated Publishers, Washington, D. C.

WRITING in 1901 the gentle and usually clear sighted Paul Laurence Dunbar could speak bitterly of looking forward to a "time when he who says aught of a negro's virtues will not be cried down as an advocate drunk with prejudice." If there was still justification for that twenty years ago it can hardly be held so to-day, for there is no lack of recognition of the sterling virtues of the negro, who is now by no means without advocates both of his own color and among white men. But full recognition of his worth, and of his great possibilities for future progress does not at all imply ignorance of his corresponding limitations. Neither can it honestly lead either black or white to deny an enduring difference; a difference wherein there need be no question of superiority or inferiority, the sole pertinent fact being that such a difference indubitably exists.

Dr. Woodson's book, which is in most respects an admirable performance, falls short of what might be by a certain failure to recognize this eternal differentness. That colors the whole book, even the purely historical chapters, somewhat unfortunately. Dr. Woodson (he is a Ph. D.) is the author of several historical studies of some importance dealing with the American negro, and is editor of *The Journal of Negro History*, a quarterly review of scientific value, devoted to the gathering of sociological data and the investigation of negro history, for the better interpretation of the race to thinking readers and students.

This book was written five years ago, but publication was delayed by the war and the high costs of printing. It has been measurably brought down to date, and, in particular, includes a diatribe on the treatment given the negro soldiers in our army, but it does not go into detailed discussion of some of the latest manifestations of the negro problem as a whole.

The aim of the book is to show the part actually played, thus far, by the negro in American history, from the earliest period down to the near past. The author adds, in his preface, that he also aims to supply the need of schools for such a book. While it is in the main a careful, succinct and well written historical

study it nevertheless contains elements that would make it extraordinarily inept for any school use. For Dr. Woodson is something of a propagandist, as well as historian. He shows considerable disagreement with such negro leaders as the late Booker Washington, who saw the path of the negro toward a happy future along the lines of industrial development and self-culture in his own sphere rather than in aspirations toward social equality. Dr. Woodson is in closer accord with such leaders as W. E. B. Du Bois who stress the need for "higher education" and political equality. Of course both schools of thought are justified, and each is necessary, but there remains no small danger in over emphasizing the latter at the expense of the teachings of Washington.

Dr. Woodson does this to a point which makes his book unfit for use as a textbook. But it remains an unusually interesting and valuable statement of the record of the negro as he himself sees it. As such it should be widely read and studied. It is also as critically dispassionate as one could reasonably expect in most respects. Regarded merely as narrative it is exceedingly good; fluent, clear, with no small distinction of style.

He begins with a sketch of the negro in Africa, which needs a good deal of modification from the standpoint of the archaeologist and ethnologist, as it is somewhat too roseate in its picture of the heights attained in native African culture. That, however, is a minor matter; the whole field is one in which ground has as yet hardly been more than broken. There follows an excellent account of the beginnings of slavery, of the patriarchal stage, of reactions and protests against it in the South and of the rise of the harsher economic and industrial slavery that followed the growth of cotton raising and finally brought on the civil war. Dr. Woodson also gives a good outline sketch of the various abolitionist movements, and, more usefully, of the increasing difficulties that arose in dealing with the freed negro, both in the South and North. He then follows the negro through the troublous reconstruction period into the later eras of imperfect adjustment.

At many points he brings to light matters that are either ignored or touched upon in too gingerly fashion in most histories, such, for example as the importance of the various

slave insurrections like that of Nat Turner's band in 1831, and the deliberate withholding of education of any sort in some parts of the South during the thirty years or so before the war.

One of the most curiously informative things in the book is the recurring description of the many and various movements toward "repatriating" the negro; sending him back to Africa or colonizing him somewhere—at first in the then still open West or in Mexico, or the West Indies. The striking thing about all these movements is their utter failure. It is an entirely uniform result. He tells of one very significant case where a free negro who himself owned a number of slaves (a by no means uncommon thing a century ago) offered to free them all on condition that they go with him to Liberia. And only one accepted! The rest preferred to be sold as slaves where they were. The plain truth seems to be that the negro has not and practically never has had any real desire to go back to Africa.

Coming down to the present era Dr. Woodson discusses the negro's many achievements in freedom, in farming, in industry at the North. In music, art and the professions. Naturally he speaks emphatically of the practical disfranchisement of the negro in the South, and no one can question that, theoretically at least, he has full justice with him. There is no doubt that the negro in many places is not getting a "square deal." But there is no apparently simple solution of that problem in sight, and it wears a different aspect in Texas or Mississippi from that of pure theory.

Indeed, Dr. Woodson's book must leave the most sympathetically inclined reader—if he is also clear-headed—with a feeling of hopelessness as to any solution of the whole series of problems raised by the fact that white and black races must live, somehow, side by side. It is an acute case of that state of things which leads an English critic (Mr. Esme Wingfield-Stratford) to remark that "democracy has landed itself in difficulties," out of which there is no royal road. In any case there is nothing to be gained by either white or black in ignoring facts or pleasantly pretending that they are something different from what they manifestly are. Dr. Woodson's book is a useful contribution to a necessary discussion, but it is hard to see much light along the lines he would stress.

H. L. PANGBORN.

Chicago The Paramount Issue

Chicago Defender

9/2/22.

THE BEST THING YOU CAN DO IS STAY RIGHT HERE AND FIGHT OUT YOUR SALVATION!!!



ASKS REGARD FOR BACKWARD RACES

Negro Editor Addresses City
Club on Future of Color
Problems.

The white man must arrange to live on terms of mutual respect with the colored races, because the declining white birth rate and the rise of self-respect among the "backward" races will bring them to the front, W. E. B. Du Bois, negro editor and author, told the City Club yesterday.

"There are a small number of each colored race who believe the matter of domination will be settled by a war," said Mr. Du Bois. "And when the World War broke out many colored leaders said: 'Let the whites fight and decimate their numbers—so much the better for the colored races.'"

"But most leaders of all the colored races believe the very self-interest of the white man will bring about an arrangement for living in partnership."

Mr. Du Bois told of the movement known as the Pan-African conference, describing how leaders among the American negroes had attempted to get a hearing at Versailles to impress upon the peace conference that perhaps the primary cause of the great war had been conflicts over control of raw materials and cheap labor in Africa and that hence no permanent peace could be expected which did not take into account proper settlement of the African problem.

Failed to Get Hearing.

Mr. Du Bois said he and his delegates were unable to get a hearing but did get as far as Col. House. Later, when they tried to hold a conference in Europe, the United States would not permit negro delegates to attend, nor would England, while Brussels newspapers declared the movement was financed by the Bolsheviks.

"But the 'red' funds failed to reach us," Mr. Du Bois said.

The speaker described growing industries in Africa. He told of the change in scientific attitude toward that continent, notably the exploding of the old idea that the black race had lived for ages without progress whereas, he said, history and recent restorations showed a great early civilization in Ethiopia and the probability that upon the west coast of Africa man first discovered the use of iron.

"Take away the land of the natives, as European powers have done," he said, "and you bring about that same poverty which curses to-

large a part of the civilized world. The negro nowhere must be exploited, but I believe the white man from pure self-interest, will soon come to see that everywhere the negro must be permitted to live, be taught how to work and how to save and build himself up."

W. E. B. DUBOIS
JUNE 17, 1922
THOUSANDS OF NEGROES
IN ANTI-LYNCH PARADE

WASHINGTON, June 17.—Several thousand negroes, representing every State in the Union, staged the most silent parade Washington has seen for many months as a demonstration in favor of the Dyer Anti-Lynching bill. Negro policemen, Boy Scouts, Masonic and other organizations took part in the march around the Capitol, down Pennsylvania avenue and past the White House. Banners and placards were in abundance, although noise and music were absent.

URGES MAINTAINING OUR TROOPS IN HAITI

Senate Committee Commends
Work of Marines, but Would
Reduce Force.

REGRETS SOME OUTRAGES

But Finds Constructive Service,
With Support of Majority
of the People.

New York Times
WASHINGTON, June 26.—Indefinite

continuance of American military occupation of Haiti, but with a reduction of the marine force, was recommended in an unanimous report presented today by the special Senate committee which for months has been investigating American administration in Haiti and Santo Domingo. The committee deferred announcement of its findings on Dominican affairs "in view of the negotiations happily begun between the State Department and the Dominican leaders looking to the termination of military government in Santo Domingo."

The declaration that early withdrawal of or drastic reduction in the American marine occupation force in Haiti would be followed certainly by brigandage and revolution was made in the report signed by Senator McCormick, Republican, of Illinois, Chairman, and Senators Odell, Republican, of Nevada; Pomerene, Democrat, of Ohio, and Jones, Democrat, of New Mexico, who have held protracted hearings and recently toured Haiti and Santo Domingo.

The committee found that on the whole American administration in Haiti had been of great benefit to the Haitians and was so regarded, it said, by a vast majority. The American record, however, was described as one both of "failure and achievement," the report stated, adding that there had been some "blunders" and a few instances of cruelty against natives by members of the military force.

"In brief, under the treaty between Haiti and the United States," the report said, "the peace of the republic, the solvency of its Government and the security of its people have been established for the first time for many years."

In justification of American intervention, the report said that "the chronic anarchy into which Haiti had fallen, the exhaustion of its credit, the threatened intervention of the German Government and the actual landing of the French naval forces, all imperiled the Monroe Doctrine and lead the Government of the United States to take the successive steps set forth . . . to establish order in Haiti, to help institute a Government as nearly representative as might be and to assure the collaboration of the Governments of the United States and Haiti for the future maintenance of peace and the development of the Haitian people."

"Your committee believes," the report continued, "that doubtless the American representatives might have done better and that they have made mistakes which in the light of experience they would not make again; that . . . not only did the treaty fail to take cognizance of certain reforms essential to Haitian progress, but that in the choice of its agents and the determination of their responsibilities, the Government of the United States was not always happy."

Reports Constructive Service.

American intervention, the report said, has, however, been marked by "constructive service" to the Haitian people, and the committee said there "must be co-operation" by literate Haitians with the American officials.

"There are certain elements in Haiti which can balk and perhaps delay the rehabilitation of the country," the report added. "They cannot prevent it. The obvious duty of patriotic Haitians is to uphold their own Government in effective co-operation with men of the United States under the treaty and so hasten the day when Haiti may stand alone. The alternative is the immediate withdrawal of American support and the abandonment of the Haitian people to chronic revolution, anarchy, barbarism and ruin."

The report gives high praise to the Marine Corps for its work in Haiti. The charges of cruelty by Marines and local gendarmes are given at length, only a few of which were declared proved, while many charges were declared false and others based on hearsay testimony by illiterate natives.

"The committee expresses its chagrin," the report said, "at the improper or criminal conduct of some few members of the Marine Corps and at the same time feels it to be its duty to condemn the process by which biased or interested individuals and committees and propagandists have seized on isolated instances, or have adopted as true any rumor however vile or baseless in an effort to bring into general disrepute the whole American naval force in Haiti. The committee wishes to express its admiration for the manner in which our men accomplished their dangerous and delicate task. It is noteworthy that in the last two years or more there have arisen no serious grounds for complaint. The confidence placed in Americans by the Haitian peasants and the approval frequently communicated to the committee by those who know and sympathize with the peasants and work

among them negative the idea of any campaign of terrorism against the inhabitants such as agitators and professional propagandists, Haitian and American, would have appeared."

Construction and improvement of many hundred miles of road, honest and increased collection of revenues, development of schools, wiping out of brigand bands and agricultural development were among results of American intervention cited by the Senatorial committee.

Recommendations of the committee included flotation of the proposed new loan to refund foreign debts and provide funds for highways, schools and other public utilities and appointment of a legal adviser to the American High Commissioner.

Reform of the Haitian courts of first instance was declared to be "urgent and important" and the committee said America should help to place education within reach of the Haitian masses, together with securing improvements in justice, schools and agricultural instruction.

"It would be an act of comity and statesmanship on the part of our Government," the report continued, "if it would send to Haiti a commission comprising a commercial adviser, an expert in tropical agriculture and an educator of Dr. Morton of Tuskegee Institute. There ought to be a survey of the need and opportunity for industrial and especially agricultural instruction and development."

Abolition of provost courts was also recommended by the committee, which said its suggested reforms would bring a "rapid development in Haiti, moral, social, political and economic" if "energetically carried out."

PORTLAND ORE EVE TELEGRAM
MAY 25, 1922

Resents Fancied Insult To Our Colored Population.

THE DALLES, Ore.—(To the Editor of The Telegram.)—Your editorial of the 11th concerning the Jap and the Negro was the most disgusting and senseless article I have ever seen. You lambast the Jap for working and teaching his children to work; and as for the Japanese women, they work no harder, neither is their work as drudgery as lots of white women are doing today. Their work out in God's pure fresh air is 1000 times better for her and her children than scrubbing offices and stores at night as lots of white women are doing today all over the United States of America. And as for the Negro and Japs sending their children to school they have the same right to an education under the constitution of this grand old flag, as you or any other inhabitant of the United States of America, notwithstanding the biased, narrow and warped minds of such people as you.

The Negro has done his bit to make the United States the country it is today. The first man to shed his blood for American independence was a Negro, Crispus Attis was his name. He was killed by a British soldier on Boston common, just before the colonies declared their independence of England. Fifteen hundred Negroes fought in the continental army to free us from the yoke of England's bondage; and in 1812 they were at the front and on the firing line. They helped General Jackson at New Orleans, they fought to save the Union whole in 1861-65. They routed the Spaniards at Santiago and saved Roosevelt and his Rough Riders. They drove the Germans before them in France. They fought day and night, went cold and hungry; they suffered, bled and died that democracy might live, while here at home they worked, both man, woman and child, bought

Liberty bonds, saving stamps, gave freely and gladly to help win the war and make the world safe for democracy while at that time and before that time and since that time to a far greater extent than ever since the Civil war, that which they fought, bled and died for.

Democracy has been denied them, and it has all been brought about not through any fault of the Negro, unless it is a fault to try to better your condition by industry and education, which they are striving so hard to do. But by narrow minded, pre-digested, selfish dog-in-the-manger, undemocratic people such as you are that has clogged the wheels of progress in our country today. It is such as you that has kept Oregon trailing in the wake of Washington and California when by rights she should be leading both states in both population and progress.

As for the Japs and the Negroes they are striving to better their conditions. You howled like a lost pup when the Japs sent their children to their own schools; then bellow like a mad bull when the Japs and Negroes send their children to the public schools. What do you want them to do? You kick because they work. You kick because they send their children either to public or private schools. There is neither sense nor logic in your contention. The only thing that is the matter with you is a dog in the manger disposition. You can't eat the ox's feed and would not if you could. And it just makes you hopping mad because the ox is eating in spite of all your growls and snarling. Try and cultivate a more tolerant feeling toward the brown and black people of America, and don't forget this is the land of the free and the home of the brave.

You must excuse this poor spelt letter, as the time when I should have went to school there was no school for me and my people, for I am fifty-three years old and never even had a common school education. But according to your way of thinking those were the ideal times when no one could get an education but the white people. Oh, yes, I am a Negro and proud of it. My parents were slaves and both went to their graves carrying the marks of the slave driver's lash on their backs. But that is over and should be forgotten. It is only when some of your ilk erupts like a festering sore that causes us to do a little erupting on our own side of the fence. The United States is the acknowledged criminal country of the world. Would you still wish it to become a greater one? If so, you are pursuing the right line when you try to discourage industry, education and thriftiness in any of her people, be they white, black or brown. And remember that you cannot stop progress or education of any one class of people without endangering the structure of society both moral, spiritual and physical. If you cannot say a good word for a poor black or brown man who is trying to make it easier for his offspring than he had for himself by learning them to be industrious and intelligent, for God's sake, keep your mouth shut.

L. G. WILSON.
Dated April 21, 1922.

THE MARE AND THE MULE

Once, not long since, I was seated on stairs in a house that I had built for a tenant house, busily engaged in picking peanuts and dropping the vines to a lower floor and near to an open window. It was about 2 o'clock p. m. that I began picking the pin-dars and at about 4 my attention was attracted to something that was taking place at the open window near which I was throwing the vines.

I had some animals feeding in the field in which the house stands, a mare and two mules. The mare was about seven and the mule of which I write about twelve years old, named respectively Coley and Pete. Through and about this window these animals often fed. Let me narrate what I observed as they fed through it at this time.

Pete was a guant, voracious old mule that showed little or no fear when eating or supplying his wants in any way. Coley was a wise looking creature with a lofty air and was more corpulent than Pete, yet she seemed to enjoy feasting on peanut vines. As I sat there quietly working, these two brought a train of thoughts to my mind which led me to give special attention to their actions.

Some one, some time, some where, said, "The Negro and the Mule," which naturally leads one who studies the characteristics of the two animals to say, "The Caucasian and the Horse. The mule was the first to come to the window and begin feeding but was soon followed by the mare and for a time they fed together in a friendly way. The mule, however, seemed so well contented and ate so greedily that the mare became dissatisfied and began to bite him, which was to say, "Pete, you must do better or I must have this all to myself." But Pete says, "Coley, I am hungry and was here first, so now I insist on holding my place." Then Coley turns to him and his head comes out of the window; but hers is out too. Soon she puts her head back and begins eating, while Pete puts his mouth on the sill of the window. Seeing the condition, a new thought came to my mind and I dropped another vine and at the same time made a slight noise, just enough to unnerve the mare and cause her to remove her head from the window. Straightway Pete puts

his head in, which I knew he would do.

In a few seconds the mare puts her head in through the window again. I dropped a vine and again made a noise but it startled neither of the animals and they fed together until the vines were all gone. The mare showed no disposition to disturb the mule so long as there was anything to fear.

If we think of the origin of the mule and the relation he sustains to the horse we feel that they should be the greatest of friends even though there is a great difference in their temperament. The mule is often called a fool but it is rare that one gets frightened and runs away and kills himself. He may kill you but not himself. Such can not be said of the horse. When our country is at peace with the world the question is often asked, "What shall we do with the Negro?" A great question about a great race! If we had the world's decision on it, the answer would come from every land, sanctioned by the Father of Light, "Give him a chance." Do you not think this a wise and just decision? From the time the Negro he has been of inestimable value to was landed at Jamestown 'till today this country. No other being has been used in so many ways and in so many places as the American Negro and he has always shown his ability and proven his worth even with the odds against him. When a slave, he was tried and burdened with such things as no other race would have stood. From long before dawn 'till the sun had hidden himself behind the western horizon he toiled through heat or cold, in valley or in hill, paving the way and laying the foundation for this great "Amerincan Commonwealth."

During the days of his bondage the Negro was loyal to his master and showed his fidelity by caring for master's stock, making master's crop and protecting master's family, when the country was at war and the times had gotten too hot for master to stay at home; and not only this, but the Negro was often called to go and join master in the frays which were destined to weld the links of the chain with which he was bound.

Our Negroes have played an important part in every great war in which this country has engaged. Was

not the Negro used in the Revolutionary War, in the Civil War, and in the Spanish American War? Was it not in the Spanish American War, when our national honor was on a pivotal point and it seemed that all hope of victory was lost on the West Indian Islands, that the Negro, under the command of Col. Theodore Roosevelt, stood so firmly and fought so stubbornly that their leader became known as the "Rough Rider" and a terror to war fraternity?

Why was the Negro called to France to engage in the great World War? To shorten the work. His face is like the black flag, a symbol of death; and sane men fear death. The Negro went to the World War and was a lion in the fight; In view of this and the other deeds he has done, many of which space forbids mention, will you not say, Give him a chance?

Could we but call some of our nation's great men, like Washington, Grant, Lincoln, Garfield, McKinley, and Roosevelt, all of whom noted the worth of the Negro, to assist in attaining a final decision on this question, I believe that with one accord they would speak as messengers from the presence of God and say, Give the Negro a chance.

W. W. Peyton,

R. 3, Box 95.

Carlisle, Ark.

SPRINGFIELD M. REPUBLICAN

APRIL 30, 1922

"BIRTHRIGHT" NOT TYPICAL

Author Intended to Present Individual Negro's Tragedy

Discussion of T. S. Stripling's novel "Birthright" has brought the following explanation from the author:—

"I had not the slightest intention of taking a pessimistic view of what we call the Negro question. In my mind Peter Siner was not any Negro. He was not an X which represented his race, he was an artist and an idealist, a particular sort of human being set down in a particularly blind village of the South. In some other Southern village he would have fared differently. I feel sure of that.

"All my life I have been aware of the tragedy and pathos of the black folk I saw around me. I have seen their unhappinesses and their humors, and I had never read one solitary book or story which attempted to set down that life justly. I thought I would try.

"As to the moralizing at the end, I feel sure that is about what Peter would have thought. I used the customary device of giving my hero's thoughts without the use of quotation marks. A number of readers have assumed that Peter's thoughts were my thoughts on the topic of the book.

Some of my readers even have said that this bit of philosophy was no part of the story and should have been omitted. To my mind, it is just as vital a part of the story as his marriage to Cissie. In that philosophy, I was attempting to keep strictly within the psychology of one particular person, an idealist and a dreamer, a person who simply must get his theory and practice together.

"If I had drawn Peter Siner as a white man undergoing the same sort of tragedy, no one would ever have dreamed of saying, this man represents the whole white race. Or that this man's philosophy is the real white philosophy."

Race Problem - 1922.

United States.

Good Advice To The White Race

William Allen White, a white man, editor of the Emporia (Kan.) Gazette, writing in last Sunday's Washington Star, criticizes the white race for regarding the Negro as a joke when he does something out of the ordinary or makes several steps ahead.

Editor White is in the limelight now for expressing his sympathy with the Kansas strikers. He violated a state law by so doing and is out on bail.

It is time that many whites look upon Negroes who make good in business or profession not as curiosities.

A case in point: The first colored lawyer hung out his shingle in Trenton, N. J. recently and he was regarded as a curiosity. A month ago he had six cases in court, and the public and bar flocked out to hear him. He conducted his cases so well that the curiosity idea was dispelled, and bench and bar hurried to congratulate him.

Mr. White's article follows: Read it and see how one white editor in the U. S. A. gives his race good advice.

At Westfield, N. J., a Negro golf club has been established and a nine-hole course laid out. A Negro colony there seems to warrant the golf course. The item that this course is laid out will cause a million giggles to sizzle across the country. Cartoonists will make funny pictures of it. Vaudeville artists will do sketches about it. Something exquisitely funny seems to excite the white race when it sees the colored race doing things which are ordinary parts of the day's work and play to the white people. It is as though the elephant should drive an auto or a horse play the piano.

The reason for this risibility of the white man at the black man's human activities is obvious and it is no credit to the white man. He thinks it is funny to see the black man doing things that normal human beings do, because the white man does not think of his dark-skinned fellow-traveler on the planet as a human companion. The white man considers any colored man—black, brown, red, yellow, or maroon—as an animal. The anthropological conceit of the white man is ponderous, unbelievable, vastly amusing to the gods.

Why should not the black man play golf if his economic status gives him leisure for golf? Why should he not have a motor car and a country house if he can afford it? Why giggle at the normal activities of men whose skin differs from our own? Something of the same psychological reason is being the fact that we middle-class people make merry over the fact that the worker in the mines or shops or furnaces wears a silk shirt or rents a house with a bath or rides to work in a car. Why shouldn't he? Is he an elephant doing stunts? Is he a

horse playing the piano? What's the joke if he develops the same desires and aspirations that we do? And who in God's name are we, anyway?

ROSCOE SIMMONS
Mr. Simmons is a man with a message, and ably demonstrated that mission Tuesday night in his address to three thousand people, white and black, in the City Auditorium Armory. 7-27-22

The speaker was greeted with tremendous applause, which was kept up by the audience throughout his address of one and one-half hours. Mr. Simmons brought the races a message of peace and argued at length to show them how they might bring about that happy result. His argument was convincing, as well as enlightening. He pointed out to the white man, as well as the black man, his duty on the premises. He labored much to show each his duty to the other, dwelling largely upon the principle of the Golden Rule. He took his position that economic independence and industrial efficiency could not reach the highest degree of usefulness and contribute their greatest quota to American civilization without political equality and that his plea was for economic independence, industrial efficiency and political equality; that he asked for every right for his people that any other people enjoyed who lived under the protection of the American Flag. And until that condition obtains, there will not be any permanent peace in this land; that agitation, unrest and migration will continue to disturb every phase of our national life, and the way to bring about peace was for each individual, acting individually, and every individual acting as a race, to develop a willingness to give the other fellow a square deal.

The speech was great and telling in effect. Without cringing, bowing, scraping or yielding one iota of manhood or delivering a single compromising statement, Mr. Simmons held both races in the lap of his eloquence, swaying them at will. Ofttimes during his address, he had to stop and wait for the applause to cease that he might proceed with his message.

He warned the American white man that all civilization was against him except the Negro; that he was the Negro's best friend, and the Negro was his only friend, and upon these bases the problem could be worked out helpfully to both races. He said he did not believe much in the "problem" doctrine; that if there was a "problem" it could be solved easily

by this recipe: Let the Negro man come up from the rear to the front, and for the white man not to travel so fast that he would forget his duty to his neighbor in his mad rush for money.

The burden of his argument was the doctrine propagated by Booker T. Washington—"Let your buckets down where you are. Take advantage of your opportunities and make the best of them. Plant yourself in the community where you live and strive to become the most useful and helpful and law-abiding citizen. Work for peace and harmony in the community with the same zeal and Christianity that you work for it in the home."

Mr. Simmons is a man with a message, and if the races will heed it, friction, racial strife and race prejudice will disappear from the national life and every man will be given an opportunity to perform his duty as he has the light and conscience to discover it.

Problem of Educated Woman Acute in Southern States

New York Age 7-22-22
Mrs. Charlotte Hawkins Brown Says They Are
Treated Worse by Whites Than Are Women of
the White Underworld

East Northfield, Mass.—A plea for considerate treatment of the educated Negro woman of America was made at the Home Missions conference by Mrs. Charlotte Hawkins Brown of Sedalia, N. C., principal of the Alice Freeman Palmer School for Negro girls. Mrs. Brown asserted that the white women of the South do not know or understand the educated Negro woman, and said that until the South does try to understand her and her problems, the race problem will remain acute. Mrs. Brown, who is a native of Massachusetts, born in Cambridge, spoke, she said, representing 100,000 of the better educated Negro women of the South, members of churches, clubs and other organizations. She is principal of the Alice Freeman Palmer School for Women at Sedalia, N. C.

One class of Negro women in the South has been in the homes of the whites through slavery days down to the present as servants. If they had not been women, they could not have made so fine a contribution.

"But it is the problem of the colored educated women, not of the class above, in which I am interested. This latter class is treated worse by the whites than the women of the white underworld. The yearning of Negro women for conveniences of home life and education for their children are not recognized. The desire of Negroes to get on paved streets where there are electric lights is not a desire to fraternize with the whites against their will; it is merely the desire to have the benefit of modern improvements.

Deeper Chasm Than Formerly.

"There is a deeper chasm between the educated black women and the white women of today than between the old black and white women of the South. In recent years there has been absolute-

ly no contact between women of these two types. During the war, race was forgotten for a time. We Negroes were asked to help sell Liberty bonds and Thrift stamps and assist in all the welfare drives, but as soon as the war was over, we quickly became isolated again. In the South, the Negro woman faces the problem of lack of recognition; in the North she faces prejudices not so prominently placarded, but there just the same. Northern women do not seem to be strong enough in character to ward off the prejudices of the Southern women; rather than displease their Southern friends, Northern women will outdo them in cruelty to Negro women. But if the Northern woman would only hold her ground, I believe that the fine womanhood of the South gradually would come up to her level. The Southern woman feels that the Northern woman's professed love for the Negro is only skin deep, and boasts that one Southern woman can poison the minds of one thousand Northern women against the Negro.

Should Overcome the Prejudice.

"It is the task of the white women of the whole country to try to overcome prejudices against the Negro—it is their task to try to understand the Negro. The Negro woman does not seek to push herself into the society of the whites, but she does feel a right to demand the enjoyments to which she is entitled by high education. The Negro woman wants everything a white woman wants, except a white husband.

"White women have a great opportunity to study the Negro in a detached manner as they do other races, and try to solve the race problem. They have the chance to prove the value of the doctrine of Christ respecting brotherly love, and they have no right to convert the people of other countries to such beliefs

WHY WE SHOULD WORRY

BY PROF. JOHN C. ADAMS

"There is no solution for the black problem in the United States. The two bloods will live side by side and the stronger will dominate the weaker. We brought the negro here and we must pay the fiddler."

CHICAGO ILL BLADE

JULY 13, 1922

MANY Blade readers have expressed the foregoing sentiment. After carefully considering the negro problem in this country they feel that nothing can be done about it. That makes the future look pretty black! Optimism is a good thing, but the "We should worry" attitude is fatal in racial matters.

One-tenth of our population has negro blood in its veins. There are many localities in the South where there are more blacks than whites. One must admit that it is going to be no small job to purge the United States of black blood. The job is the more difficult if it is handled with justice and fairness, which is the only way it should be handled.

But surely, we are not to follow the example of the old woman who said, "I have so much work to do I guess I'll go to bed." If the white man does not solve the problem, the black man will, and it is a foregone conclusion that if the black man solves the problem he will solve it to his own advantage, just as the white man would solve it for his own best interest.

If the white man were perfect, if all members of the white race were honest and fair and clean morally, it still would be impossible for the negro to continue in the United States to work out his destiny without danger to the white race.

Unfortunately, the white race has its selfish men, its criminal men, its degenerates; it has men who will cheat other men whether white or black, it has men who will take unfair advantage of ignorance and abuse power, and it has men and women who are abnormal on their sex side and who will have illicit relations with blacks, even to bearing children of mixed blood only to cast them off after birth, because white society in the mass will not accept as a member the person who has negro blood in his veins. All this complicates the problem.

The white man has a serious white race problem in dealing with its own delinquents. The white man's crimes cover everything from wholesale killing of other white men in international wars to sex intercourse with colored bloods by morons and feeble-minded menaces which are increasing at an alarming rate.

If it were not for this immoral fringe about the white race held in partial check only thru fear of the law, it would be easier, from the white man's standpoint, to permit a black and white race to live side by side without serious danger to either. But facts are facts.

We whites, whether we like it or not, have to admit that our own folly is hurting us as much as the negro's folly. The Negro Yearbook for 1918-1919 quotes a statement by a well-known negro leader in religious circles in which he says that he can name negro colonies in Louisiana where blue eyes and flaxen hair predominate and that there are between two and three million

negroes of mixed blood in the South. Surely no one will insist that this intermixture has been worked entirely by the negro or that it was worked always with his consent. As a matter of fact the age of consent laws in many States apply, in practice, only to white girls.

That isn't anything for a white man to be proud of but these are facts which we cannot ignore when we start out to get the truth about our race problem.

If the white race with its superior intellectual development, its higher moral code and its better developed self-control, cannot restrain its own members from sexual relations with another race, we have no surprise if a more primitive race, on which morals weigh very lightly if at all, and in whom the animal instincts and passions are very strong, goes in for this sort of thing.

It is then essential for protection against himself that the white man should be interested in solving the race problem in the United States.

No one will dissent from the statement that where two races live side by side the stronger will dominate the weaker. Consider that a moment! Today the white race is the stronger in the United States. It dominates the blacks. Do the blacks cheerfully submit to that domination? Not at all. If you will look at the Negro Year Book referred to you will find a declaration after declaration in which the negroes protest against this and that condition and aspire to this further concession and demand this and that right. You will see that the negro insists that he has a right to influence the policies of government, to own property and live in whatever block he pleases; he protests against his wages, he protests against his being excluded from churches, theaters, Pullman cars where whites congregate.

Put behind the belief that they are not getting a square deal the ignorance of centuries and you have a combination that will continue to make trouble to the end of time. The negro will give the white race in the United States no rest as long as the white race is the dominant race, but the minute the negro race becomes the dominant race it will do just what the white race is doing; it will exploit the whites to the

advantage of the blacks. Don't fool yourself on that proposition. AS A SLAVE THE NEGRO PRAYED FOR FREEDOM. AS A FREEDMAN HE ASKED FOR THE BALLOT, AS A VOTER HE DEMANDED PUBLIC OFFICE, AS AN OFFICE HOLDER HE WILL COMMAND AND HIS AUTHORITY WILL BE EXERCISED IN THE INTEREST OF BLACKS.

Confronted with such a possibility we do not dare to admit that there is no solution for our race problem. We must find a solution and the most promising field seems to rest in a return to the purposes of the forefather who established this country. The were white men and had no other idea than that they were building a government for white men.

It is true that white men brought the negro to the United States and for that dance of folly we must pay the fiddler, but we can courageously take the fiddler's bill and find out what it amounts to, pay it in full at once, AND THEN DISCHARGE THE FIDDLER. Better that than permit him to keep on playing his rag-time tune and collecting larger and still larger sums each year.

It is as if Uncle Sam and his family rides along the highway in the family

SIGNS OF APPROACHING TROUBLE

By William Pickens

Storms do not drop out of a calm sky. They have their little heralds. When the cyclone is in the distance, the light breezes, steadily increasing, precede it. The leaves rustle, loose bits of paper stir and fly up. Anon the trees begin to sway and crack—shingles and tin roofs loosen up and fly about—and with these little warnings and disturbances the storm finally breaks on our heads.

There are signs of the approaching storm of a racial conflict in some northern communities. Colored people and white people who want to avoid this terror must begin "to look out" and check these causal signs. Southerners and Southern sentiment are beginning to insult, and in some cases even to assault, colored people on the cars and in other public places. We know they are Southerners, because they so often say, without realizing the cowardice of the expression, "If you whare down whare I cum frum," or "Whare I live, niggers don't—," or some similar expression to show that all they need to make them jump on a colored person is to have the assurance that 500 other white people will help them to "lick" him. And they are so dull that they do not see the cowardly reflection upon themselves.

The civilized white people and black people of the North, who do not want savagery, brutality and blood, had better be getting their heads together to check these uncultured animals of both races and all colors. For there are naturally some colored people who are just as big fools as these fools from among the whites—and when too such an opposing fools by chance come together, there may be a spark which will light a great fire. The colored people, however, are naturally much more prudent in public than the raw element from the South—for circumstances are against the colored man. We have seen many cases of such conflict. In not one case out of ten was the colored person the aggressor. It can be said that as a rule the colored people respect the public rights of white people in public places.

Inter-racial committees should be organized among white and black in the North as well as in the South.

Of course there is something good in most men but the trouble is so few of us can see the good in others.

It's a mighty good thing that you cannot fool all the people all the time.

Despite the statement to the contrary its me and my wife, my son John and his wife, for us and no more, with nearly every

DETROIT JEWISH CHRONICLE

JULY 14, 1922

Someone whispered to me that President Lowell of Harvard made a trip South not so many months ago. While there, so the story goes, some of the prominent southern alumni had a heart to heart talk with the president. Harvard was adopting too much of an open door policy; too many Negroes were being admitted. And goodness knows what might happen if the colored man became too educated. Probably the Southern gentlemen had been reading Stripling's book called "Birthright," in which the colored hero is a Harvard graduate who returns to his native town in the South, and the Southern gentlemen show him that even though he is a Harvard graduate, he's "a nigger anyway." Then I learn, too, that after the Negro discussion had waned the Jew came in for attention and naturally in such a Ku Klux Klan atmosphere the Jew's chances for fair consideration were slim. In the end it is probable that all these conversations made an impression on the Harvard president and when he came home he probably gave the matter serious attention. Of course, all this is gossip, but sometimes there is a grain of truth even in gossip. In this instance I am quite sure there is.

United States.

NYC WORLD
MARCH 29, 1922

It Seems to Me

By HEYWOOD BROWN

An unusually good American novel is "Birthright," by T. S. Stribling, which has just been issued by the Century Company. We want to resist our usual temptation to say the best of the year or the best in ten years or anything of the sort, because we are studiously trying to outgrow the habit of applying the ranking system to literature. We hope that it will be sufficient evidence of enthusiasm to say merely, that "Birthright" is a fine piece of work.

The author has begun with a tremendous advantage in that he has taken a theme almost wholly neglected by American authors. He has written a novel about the Negro. His hero is a Negro. Hitherto such material has been employed for laughter. In the whole field of American drama and fiction exceptions to this treatment are surprisingly few. We are not forgetting, of course, the inevitable scene in every play of Southern life in which the old butler with the misery in his back offers his humble savings to rescue his master from bankruptcy. That is not quite what we mean by serious.

Perhaps, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" ought to be set down as serious, but that quality was somewhat diminished by the accompanying sentimentality. Still, it deserves an important place in any history of American literature. Certainly, the book must be included in any list of the immediate causes which led to the Civil War. It may be that the terrific consequences which followed in the trail of Uncle Tom frightened other novelists away from any theme so tremendous. There is something defensive in the eagerness of the white race to pretend that the Negro is a farce figure, wholly childlike, irretrievably merry and carefree. In this way we are able to forget wrongs and to sit calmly under the threat of a problem which we have neither the wisdom nor the nerve to face.

The worst of it is that there are actually two problems. Isn't there a saying that it takes two to make a problem? If there isn't, there ought to be. Because of the Negro problem we have also a white problem. Mr. Stribling has never lost sight of this fact in writing "Birthright."

He puts the two problems side by side. "As Peter sat staring into the darkness," he writes, "the whole effect of the dehumanizing of the black folk of the South began to unfold itself before his imagination. . . . They were all vermin, animals; they were one with the sheep and the swine; a little nearer the human in form, perhaps, and, oddly enough, one that could be bred to a human being, as testified by a multitude of brown and yellow and cream-colored

folk, but all marching away, as the Captain had so passionately said, marching away, their forms hidden from human intercourse under a shroud of black, an endless procession marching away, God knew whither! And yet they were the South's own flesh and blood."

And again we have the white problem which has grown out of the Negro problem—the problem of the great American desert, the vast region of spiritual aridity from which comes nothing but the Southern gentleman. As long as the Negro problem persists we shall also be confronted with the task of conducting a democracy in the face of the fact that from one vast bloc of States we can seldom expect representation except through Bourbons or demagogues.

Of course, this is not entirely fair. We must admit at once that the Southerner of to-day may not justly be indicted as solely responsible for the Negro problem. He did not personally bring the Negro to America. Not even his ancestors are wholly to blame. Self-righteous New England was much concerned with the slave trade as long as there was money in it. Again, it ought to be said that some of the most sincere efforts toward the betterment of the Negro have come from the Southern white. We are impatient only with the cocksureness of the man from the South who says, "Down in my country we know how to handle niggers." Obviously they do not. Unfortunately, nobody as yet knows enough.

The Negro problem concerns the South more vitally than any other section of the country and unfortunately it has forced out of consideration practically every other public question. Under this intensive specialization the mind of the South has atrophied to such an extent that it is no longer competent even to deal with this single question which it has called its own.

"Scarcely a department of Southern life escapes this fundamental attitude of special pleader and disingenuousness," writes Stribling. "It explains the Southern fondness for legal subtleties. All attempts at Southern poetry, belles-lettres, painting, novels, bear the stamp of the special plea, of authors whose exposition is careful. . . . The very breath of art and interpretation is an eager and sincere searching of the heart. This sincerity the South lacks. Her single talent will always be forensic, because she is a lawyer with a cause to defend. And such is the curse that arises from lynchings and venery and extortions and dehumanizings—sterility; a dumbness of the soul."

We are doing rather an ill service to "Birthright" by the quotations we have selected, but they happened to be things which interested us. However, the book is not overweighted with propaganda. It tells a story absorbingly. Such moral as it contains lies in the incidents of the narration and does not need the occasional forefinger of the author. The story seems to us profoundly moving and interesting. Even Sinclair Lewis has no greater facility for bringing to the reader the physical aspect of a place. Indeed, the book concerns another Main Street, but this time

it is the thoroughfare of the Negro quarter in a small river town of Tennessee.

Perhaps an apt retort to the charge of sterility which Stribling brings against the white South may lie in the fact that he himself is a Tennessean. We must admit that the book is fine enough to hurt his case in this respect. However, it does away with the possibility of any attempt to dismiss "Birthright" as just something by one of those interfering Yankees who doesn't know what he is talking about.

Incidentally, the book makes no plea for social equality or anything of the sort, nor does it make any pretensions about the character or the mentality of the black folk with whom it deals. It is not the function of a novelist to furnish a full list of measures of reform with every novel. "Birthright" contains no such list, but it does make the possibly useful suggestion that the problem of the South concerns both races. Maybe there is a saying that it takes two to make a remedy.

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KELLY MILLER ON NEGRO BOOT-LEGGERS

Pittsburgh Courier 6-30-22
Mr. Kelly Miller, of Howard University, who has won some distinction as a pamphleteer and sociologist, seems to have been attacked by a violent case of mental senility. Last week in one of the colored papers, Mr. Miller discussed the need of greater respect for law and the constitution. He does some peculiar reasoning in speaking on violations of the 18th Amendment. He says, "The Negro bootlegger is the greatest enemy of his race." We do not think that this statement is anywhere near the truth. We are beset by a number of enemies and it is more than difficult to pick that one which is the "greatest enemy."

The Negro boot-legger is no greater evil to Negroes than is the white boot-legger to Caucasians. He is a lawless individual the same as any other law-breaker and is no more harmful than any other. Mr. Miller seems to put the Negro boot-legger in the same class that Mr. Henry Ford places the Jewish boot-legger.

We are of the opinion that the Negro politician, bootlickers of the Republican Party, and Negro leaders such as Robert Russa Moton, are far greater enemies of ours than any group of Negro bootleggers.

But Prof. Miller goes on with a line of sophistry and illogical reasoning that is truly remarkable. He says: "If the Negro in order to gratify his greed for gain or passion for pleasure violates the Eighteenth Amendment, with what logical consistency can he denounce the Southern white men for overthrowing the Fifteenth Amendment for political and racial advantage?" For absurdity and crassness this argument stands in a class alone. How Kelly Miller, scholar that he is, can make comparison between the individual Negro law-breaker and the organized and legalized discrimination against Negroes, in the South, is a mystery indeed. The mass of Negroes are not boot-leggers and their violation of the law at this point is the same as any law-breaking. Also, it is not directed at any class or race. But the overthrow of the Fifteenth Amendment is mass action of Southerners directed solely at Negro citizens.

One would think from reading Prof. Miller's argument that boot-legging was under the control of colored people as a group and that they had conspired to abrogate the 18th Amendment to the detriment of some particular group, for example, white Southerners. It is the kind of argument that one hears from white demagogues and our own barber-shop loungettes.

URGES KEEN STUDY OF NEGRO PROBLEM

Dr. Thomas J. Jones Ad-
dresses City Club

The members of the City Club at their luncheon this afternoon were asked to study the negro problem as an organization and to try to see that the colored men and women of Baltimore were given educational opportunities in order that they may become useful citizens. The speaker was Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, educational director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and a trustee of Fisk University. He has for many years given much study to the negro problem. He said, in part:

"Baltimore's unique position as the gateway of the North to the South, and equally the gateway of the South to the North, gives it peculiar importance in all national movements. This applies not only in the great economic and political forces, but also in movements and influences that make for improvement of racial relationships. The influence of Baltimore on Southern policies is probably far greater than the city realizes. This places peculiar responsibilities upon the city and upon those who determine the policies for its large population.

Must Face Responsibility.

"However much the citizens of Baltimore may desire to avoid the responsibility of this problem, they cannot escape the consequences for ill if they allow public opinion to be formed by those who are not seriously concerned in the welfare of the city, the State and the nation. The problem is concerned with the health of the people white and black, with the economic well-being, with the political progress of our citizenship and with the character of all the people from the small unit to the largest unit of our national life.

"If tuberculosis is ravaging any portion of the colored group we may be sure that the menace of that disease may become a reality in the homes of the whites. We know full well that not only tuberculosis but other diseases are still taking more

than the usual quota of the colored groups. Let us not close our eyes to the fact that the abnormal quota thus taken to an untimely end takes with it lives of those who belong to the white group. Similarly, if there are those who are suffering because of bad housing, or poverty, or immorality among the colored people, the inevitable laws of contagion will carry the unfavorable results to the white group. Better homes, better schools, better playgrounds, better conditions of life for the colored group add immensely to the prosperity and total well-being of the whole city.

Applies To State Also.

"What has been said of the city applies equally to the State of Maryland. The economic development of the State, its progress in health and general well-being require that provision shall be made for the normal development of the negro. The agricultural resources of your fertile farms will not be properly used unless the colored people to whom you intrust this land are prepared to deal intelligently with the problems of the soil. Thus what you do here in the city of Baltimore is in many respects the standard of action in every part of your State. If you deal adequately with health, education and general moral conditions in your city, there will be a reflection of those commendable actions throughout the State.

"Passing on from the State to the Southern section of our country, the student of sectional influences observes that Baltimore and Maryland have an opportunity of influencing for good or for evil the great States of the South. The serious-minded leaders of the South are more and more giving consideration to ways and means for the solution of the perplexing difficulties that confront them. As in the State they look to Baltimore for guidance, so in the interstate anxieties the people of the South have a right to look through Maryland to Baltimore and its world-famous university for light and guidance.

Makes Suggestions.

"We would therefore suggest that you as a civic organization study this problem and endeavor to know your colored neighbors, know the health conditions, know their school their recreational facilities, their living conditions and the places in which they live. Second, that you shall see to it that educational opportunities shall be provided for them so that they may be prepared to deal effectively with their problems and shall have a leadership of their own people. Finally, that you shall make possible every form of co-operation for the elimination of misunderstandings and for the improvement of hygienic, economic and civic conditions.

Fortunately there are substantial beginnings in these directions. As an example of the studying of conditions

I commend you to that which is now being conducted in your own city by the Urban League for the Improvement of Negro Conditions. As an example of inter-racial co-operation I urge you to give your hearty support to the Interracial Commission, with headquarters at Atlanta, which has already organized committees of white and committees of colored people to advance racial harmony in every section of the South.

Third, I commend you to the splendid educational institutions for colored people, like your own Morgan College, Howard University in Washington and, finally, Fisk University, in whose interest this meeting has been arranged. Fisk, located in what may be called the educational center of the South, Nashville, Tenn., worthy of national support. It depends entirely on the financial contributions of friends in every part of this country. Its trustees represent the best citizenship of the white South, of the white North and of the colored race. There is no educational institution in the country that more intelligently or effectively organizes for the training of sound and capable leadership than Fisk University."

Review of a Review of Missis

Mrs. Beulah Gordon Ratliff has written a story for The Nation on "Mississippi, the Heart of Dixie." The story is the third of a series of studies on the states in course of publication by The Nation.

The story by Maryland was written by Mr. H. L. Mencken, the cleverest writer using the English language, but the most unreliable as to judgment and conclusion.

The second, on Kansas, was written by William Allen White.

Mrs. Ratliff does not know her Mississippi. She is at times sympathetic, but she is still under the spell of Uncle Tom's Cabin and the far-away point of view.

There are many things in Mississippi that are out of line, but no state has a monopoly of perfection in all the virtues. The people of Mississippi, many of them, have local peculiarities. Some of them are in contact with a social and economic life that in certain phases is startling to a stranger, because that life is so different from the well known and dull average, common to people in settled communities where one race exists. As to the tenant system in vogue in Mississippi, the incidents cited by Mrs. Ratliff may be true, but they are incidents. The white landlord may at times drive a hard bargain with a negro tenant. He may ex-

ploit him. But the negro tenant in Mississippi is not generally oppressed. In most of the cases he gets what is coming to him. In the last two years many white landlords have been beggared by "carrying" their negroes.

But the tenant system, be it as to black or whites, is bad. It is wasteful both to owner and to tenant. But we venture the assertion that there are more white people in the United States suffering from shortcomings in tenantry than there are negroes.

No state in the union was worse torn up in the years following the war than was Mississippi. Carpet-bagging left more lasting scars in Mississippi than on the body politic of any other Southern state.

Mississippi was agricultural. The towns were small and the field seemed to be better for carpetbag exploiting than Tennessee, Arkansas or Alabama.

In her discussion of education in Mississippi, Mrs. Ratliff shows a regrettable ignorance of what is being done. Let one also remember that

as far Southern states as to white people are small beneficiaries of private philanthropy. No million dollar endowments have ever come to a Mississippi school. There are few millionaires in that state. There is no money there out of which a man may give \$15,000 or \$20,000 to a chair in college.

The money for education in Mississippi comes entirely out of taxes or from fees. Col. Millsaps, of Jackson, did much for Millsaps College, but most of the private schools in Mississippi are the results of dollar subscriptions, small collections and life-long toil of devoted men and women. Even so, Mississippi has done a

work in education that is most creditable. It is not true that a Mississippi boy or girl must go from that state to receive a good cultural or scientific education.

The state of Mississippi affords to its citizens opportunity in three institutions where they can get everything in polite learning and in science, with the exception of medicine.

Mrs. Ratliff should visit Columbus and go over the work done in the splendid college for women. We are not boasting, but we know by actual experience with the output of the Columbus College for Girls, of the Starkville A. & M. College and the

University at Oxford that their pupils who go in for cultural education stand as high as those of any other school in the country.

We have had actual experience with the output of eastern institutions, of those clustered around Chicago and of those in Mississippi. In modern languages, in the classics, in general literature, in history and economics, the work is thoroughly done, both at Oxford and at Columbus. In such matters as biology that amount necessary to a fundamental education is well taught at Oxford and at Columbus. In both institutions there is a heroic band of men and women teachers who are holding fast to those standards under which our civilization was built up and without which it will die of materialism.

Mrs. Ratliff, by all means, should visit Starkville and see the A. & M. College. Engineering in all of its branches is well taught. That branch of study having to do with the soil—the chemistry of agriculture—is nourished at Starkville by a band of very able men.

We have come in contact with the boys from most of the technical schools in the South and we have also come in contact with the young men from Boston and from other Northern technical teaching centers, and, though appropriations may be small for them, Starkville and Knoxville, where the technical branches of the University of Tennessee are established, are doing as good work as the best institutions in the country. The amazing thing is that they do it with so little money for equipment and laboratory material.

The state of Mississippi has recently established some normal schools. We do not speak about them by the card, but we get good reports of these normals.

Progress in elementary education is being made in Mississippi. The people of the state are taxing themselves heavily for education. Mississippi is not a rich state. It has a few large cities. Considering the resources of the state, her people have done splendidly in their contributions to the cause of public education.

There are a number of denominational schools in Mississippi. Some of them are meager in equipment, but they do remarkable work when one comes to consider their resources.

Race Problem - 1922.

United States.

MARCUS GARVEY SPEAKS.

Dallas Express 7/1/22

Marcus Garvey has come and gone. Dallas has seen and heard him, yet the sun shines as usual and men and women go about their daily tasks in their accustomed ways. His coming and his presence were taken as a matter of course.

There may have been those among us who viewed his coming with alarm but the lack of necessity for such fears is amply proven by the lack of interest which the public as a whole showed in the occasion.

His message proved less sensational than was expected but more consistent with those to which we have been accustomed by speakers for many years. In short, Garvey's visit to Dallas served to remove him from the artificially exalted plane to which our imaginations had raised him and to show him to us more nearly as he really is—a man with the same hope of the eventual progress of his race to a higher plane of freedom to achieve as have others of his race which he is capitalizing by clothing its expression in terms to captivate the imaginations of the more emotional of the masses.

At close range he appeals to us as a man actuated probably by a lofty ideal which he has attempted to bring into actual fact, not taking into account the circumstances which environment and actual conditions have made it necessary that he should consider. The response to his pleas, made no doubt in good faith, have been so far in excess of his dream that he has found it impossible to practically and efficiently handle it and his legal and financial difficulties have been the result.

It is highly probable that he himself like the child at play who breaks a small hole in a dam, has been engulfed in the flood which he now finds pouring in upon him and in its presence he is helpless; overwhelmed—and his attempts at his own rescue seem to some, pitiful; to others, worthy of blame.

Garvey in Dallas preached unity and cooperation, he told of the need of practical efforts at progress by the building of factories and the development of commercial ventures. He expressed the hope that the effort which he was making would cause the 400,000,000 Negroes of the world to recognize their kinship and work together to the end that their progress might be mutually rapid. So far, we followed him agreeably. But he then spoke of the rehabilitation of Africa without giving even a hint of the how of the acquisition and we ceased to follow him because we have been accustomed to basing our agreement with men and issues upon fact—not fancy. And we have finally concluded that in this last particular he has erred in preaching to us; for he holds up to us and our masses generally the so far, unattainable and collects our funds for a purpose for which he cannot efficiently use them.

Heretofore we have hesitated to censure Garvey for what seemed to us the quality of impracticability. But now we feel that that censure may be justly expressed. His response from the masses is without doubt gained primarily because of the glorious pictures which he paints of an entrancing future Negro state. But he, as a leader with a conscience and a real vision should be unwilling to lay himself liable to the criticism of dishonestly and exploitation by claiming that the moneys entrusted to him by ignorant and imaginative people are being used to fur-

where their ends along lines now impossible.

Steamship lines owned by Negroes are to be desired. A fund substantial enough to aid the Negro governments in Africa is worth while. But a government in Africa, obtained by force or any other visionary means is not now a possibility and it should not be so preached.

We were surprised that no mention was made of the steamships owned by the Association and of the factories in operation. We had expected to hear some reference made to the numerous charges now being made against Garvey of misuse of funds and an explanation of the cause of such charges; but none was made. Doubtless he considered such references unnecessary. But the fact that such news had preceded his visit seemed to us to necessitate some such references. We had hoped that some mention would have been made of them.

The Garvey movement no doubt is as gigantic as we have been led to believe but our study of it has convinced us that it has convinced us that it possesses one unfortunate feature which will eventually defeat it. The government in Africa is the one to which we refer. It is unnecessary; it is impracticable; it is impossible.

We could hope that the great numbers of our people who have been attracted to the standard of Garveyism, might be efficiently handled to the end that definite financial ventures might result from the contribution of their funds to it. Their cooperation should be practically utilized.

In America banks should be established and efficiently managed which should in turn finance reputable and essential industries. In foreign countries and the outlying islands where Negroes live in great numbers, commercial alliances for the marketing of their products might be formed thus laying the basis for a really glorious economic future.

Thus would Garvey's dream more nearly be realized; for in this way Ethiopia would in reality "stretch forth her hands."

THE JEW AND EDUCATION.

A great deal of stir has been made withice to send their children to school. The regard to a certain attitude which appears to result is that the Jews are gaining more and more influence in this country, and many gentlemen appear to fear the possibility of the domination of America by Jews. On the average, the brainiest people in America to-day are probably the Jews. They are always among the best financiers, among the best politicians and statesmen, and among the best scholars. The Jews have a solidarity no other group has. They have a different workship, and they marry among themselves. They have a high degree of racial pride, and believe that they are the chosen people of God to inherit the earth, and they are here for their inheritance.

Picking up the paper the other day, looking over the prizes and honors won for scholarship, we found that a large majority were won by Jewish scholars. In the city of Philadelphia, the scholarships that are annually given to the University of Pennsylvania by the city, are won to a large extent by Jews. The Jews realize the need of education, and they have a genuine thirst for it; and more

We hope that Harvard University will not make any distinction which will lead to the cutting down of the number of Americans of any nationality who want to pursue a course there. Such would be a backward step and result in the retarding of the country, rather than the bettering of it. The best brain and heart ought to win. Whether they

are that of a Jew, a Frenchman, or a Negro; for America ought to mean democracy for all, and opportunity for every man or woman who wants to get an education. Only upon this can we hope to keep ahead of the rest of the world.

CHICAGO ILL BLADE

JUNE 24, 1922

CHOOSING BETWEEN PROGRESS AND DECAY

BY PROF. JOHN C. ADAMS

FOUR HUNDRED YEARS AGO PONCE DE LEON WAS EXPLORING WHAT IS NOW FLORIDA IN THE HOPE OF FINDING THE FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH. Today men are experimenting with monkey glands in the hope of restoring youth in those touched by the hand of age.

Men are much interested in living a long time. Few men die willingly. The normal man will fight desperately for his life and make almost any sacrifice that he may live.

Collectively men ought to be as interested in prolonging the life of their race as they are individually in prolonging their years.

If a competent doctor tells a man that he will die if he eats meat, it is surprising how quickly that man cultivates an appetite for vegetables.

When it is scientifically certain that a race will die if it permits its native blood to be corrupted, the warning goes unnoticed by many, others are indifferent, and only a few exert themselves to preserve the race.

There is no such thing as a static condition of life for a race. IT CANNOT STAND STILL. IT MUST EITHER FOLLOW PROGRESS OR BE CAUGHT BY DECAY.

It looks as if racial decay had attacked the white blood of the world. That ought to make every white man experience some keen anxiety. That ought to make him want to know why the women of his race bear fewer children than the women of the yellow and black races; why men are underdeveloped in industrial centers; why feeble-mindedness is increasing among the whites and, finally, why the power of the white race in world affairs yields more and more to the pressure of colored bloods.

Today thousands and thousands of persons are starving in Russia. The industrial life of Germany has been so disorganized that the younger generation will not be as robust in body and mind as is the generation which fought the great war. Conditions in England and the United States have not been, since 1914, and are not now favorable to the maximum development of all the people.

In Austria today, Ignace Seipel, the priest-premier, is fighting desperately to save the country from complete collapse and ruin. France is using her power to prevent the success of the government which is struggling for its existence in Russia. Every white government in Europe is in a bad way and when most of the white governments which make up white civilization are in a bad way, white civilization itself is in a bad way.

It is like the fable about the various organs of the body. When the heart, the veins, the lungs, the liver and the brain are in a bad way, the body is flirting with the undertaker.

The trouble in Europe is that each white group represented by a government is trying to impose on other white groups its ideas and ideals of life and government.

When a modern industrial concern encounters a problem it hires experts to experiment until a way is found to meet that problem. The big problem for the white race today is government. What sort of government will produce the happiest, healthiest people and reflect the greatest prosperity and security on the race as a whole?

If various European nations could get the idea of race destiny there would be no Genoa and Hague conferences in which each nation tries to do the other and do him first. There would be a realization of the value of experiments in governments. IN THE INTERNATIONAL LABORATORY EACH GROUP WOULD MAKE ITS EXPERIMENT WITHOUT PREJUDICE.

Europe would help Russia in its experiment and watch the result with intense interest, hoping that the experiment would develop something better than has been known in government heretofore. Europe would help France in her experiment with highly centralized republican government, and France in turn would do all that she could to help Germany in her experiment of representative government. The United States would help them all, and in turn all of them would help the United States in the experiment of decentralized, democratic government.

Out of these experiments the white race could develop the best in government. It could discover which principles of government make for improvement of the race and which hastens decay. Germany has demonstrated one kind of government which cannot survive at this stage in the white man's civilization. Russia, under the Czar, demonstrated another type of government which will be tolerated no longer.

These types weakened the white race thru war. It will take many years for the white race to recover from the effects of those disastrous experiments.

The ominous feature of present conditions in the white world today is the lack of cooperation between the nations. No one wants to give Russia a chance. Only a few nations are willing that Germany shall be assisted to re-establish herself. It seems that the nations are afraid that one of them will develop, a government that is better than anything we now have, even though such a government would be of benefit to us all and would build up the white race against the day when it must meet and defeat or yield to the colored blood of Asia and Africa.

Japan and China are experimenting in this matter of government and as soon as there is developed in the Orient a form of government which will consolidate the Jap and the Chinaman, cannot be otherwise than that that civilization will challenge the supremacy of the white race.

One race can defeat another race by force of arms, or by breeding out its pure-blood rival and reducing it to mongrel state, or by its prowess in commerce.

If it comes to a question of force the yellow man outnumbers the white. We should, therefore, be vitally interested in increasing the birthrate of whites and in enlarging the families of the best blood in the white race.

If it comes to conquest thru interbreeding, we know that mixing yellow blood with white blood produces a half-breed of the most uncertain and unstable type. We should, therefore, take every precaution against corruption of the white strain with colored bloods of whatever race.

If it comes to an industrial conquest, we know that the yellow and black laborer can work for less and live on less than a white man, and he ought not, therefore, be permitted to compete in the industrial labor market with white men within the confines of a white country.

Statesmanship should widen its vision, realizing that a race cannot stand still, that it must progress or decay, and that government is the instrumentality thru which progress is encouraged and decay invited.

A government which elevates property and wealth above the happiness and health of its people makes conditions favorable for dry rot in the white race. When the laws are more concerned with promoting the making of money and the hoarding of wealth than in encouraging the having and rearing of children, they but hasten the decline of the white race.

WHAT SHALL WE DO ABOUT IT?

Race Problem By Blade Readers

Favors Segregation

Editor the Blade—
I read with much interest the article in The Saturday Blade, with reference to the race problem as it confronts the people of the United States. This is, indeed, a serious problem and one that grows more serious each year. I say, without prejudice, and with due respect to both the negro and the white, that complete separation is the only solution. This should be brought about in the best possible manner.

I feel that the views expressed by the negro from Springfield, Mo., in your issue of June 3, are about as good a solution as can be had. Let the Government buy his property and pay his transportation to Africa, and there let him manage his own affairs, under the protection of our Government, for the next fifty years.

As the gentleman from North Carolina stated in your columns, the Southern white man is the best friend the negro has on earth, and that being true it puts him in a position to better realize the needs of the negro. A complete separation of the races is the best solution, and I dare say that 90 per cent of the Southern whites will agree with me, and a large per cent of the negroes.

This is a problem that must be solved some day. The longer the delay the greater the price. I remember reading an article in a daily paper published in Chicago soon after the riot in East St. Louis, Ill., which said in part: "The negro is all right in his place, but where is his place? SOUTH." I feel that if all the negroes would migrate North, after a few years that writer would contend that the negro's place is Africa.

Yours very truly,

A. B. CLARK,

June 3, 1922. Thomasville, Ga.

Negro May Solve Problem

To the Blade—
At first I thought you were making a mistake in dealing so frankly with the race problem in the Blade. I have read all the articles and letters and feel now that you are doing a very great service. I see that William Randolph Hearst told the English people the other day that the race question is the most serious problem in the world today, and I read the same opinion expressed by Lord Northcliffe.

I know that the white man is to blame what he did and what he does to the negro and, therefore, I feel that the doctrine of race purity means as much to

the negro as it does to the white. It will be impossible to get the rank and file of the black race to understand this and, therefore, any solution of the problem must be worked out by the white race with the support of the more intelligent negroes.

Frankly, I cannot make up my mind as to what would be a happy solution of the problem. As long as the negro lives in the midst of a superior race, he will be exploited and abused. For that reason he ought to be anxious to get into a country of his own, where he could handle his own affairs. I do not believe in using force. I feel that the key to the problem is in educating the negro to where he will realize that it is for his own good to withdraw from a country dominated by white men, many of whom are, and always will be, greedy and unfair. The day will come when the negro himself will see that the equality he dreamed of is impossible save in his own country, under a government of his own making. Then he will solve the problem for himself.

CLARE ARTHUR,

June 6, 1922. Kansas City, Mo.

EGYPT PROTESTS ENGLAND'S CHOICE.

Egyptian nationalists have turned to the Turk with a protest against England. But recently the British granted Egypt a free government. No sooner were the nationalists in position to use their new powers against England than they turned to Sheik ul Islam, the religious head of the Moslems, with a protest against King Fouad's pretensions to the Egyptian throne, submitting that Fouad's appointment was made by England and is illegal because their religion demands that the caliph appoint a king for a Moslem state.

POPULATION OF THE WORLD.

Colored Population	Red	50,000,000
	Black	150,000,000
	Yellow	500,000,000
	Brown	450,000,000
	Mixed	50,000,000
Total Colored Population		1,200,000,000
White Population		550,000,000
Total Population		1,750,000,000

Race Problem - 1922

United States SOUTH BETTER FRIEND TO NEGRO THAN NORTH

Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn.
Dr. Morton of Tuskegee
Contrasts Respective Attitudes

3/11/22

CHICAGO, March 10.—The south is accomplishing more in establishing better relations between the whites and negroes, than is the north, Dr. R. H. Morton, head of Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala., said today. Dr. Morton is successor to the late Dr. Booker T. Washington, noted negro leader. While the south does not recognize racial equality, the negro's place in life is being made secure and he is given justice.

"Better relations between the two races are growing more rapidly in the south than in the north," Dr. Morton said in an address on the race question today. "One of the most significant, very determining and therefore encouraging aspects of this movement in the south is the vigorous way the leading and aristocratic white people of the south have entered into it."

"They have taken a decided stand and have determined protection and justice for negro womanhood and childhood; have denounced lynching and all forms of injustice and have pledged themselves to secure safety for womanhood regardless of race or color."

Giving the South a Bad Name

As long as lynchings, burnings and other acts of mob violence are done in the south, and as long as any of the south states send to the National Congress such men as Senator Tom Watson of Georgia and Representative Blanton of Texas then will the south be misunderstood and maligned and put to the necessity of defending herself against many false and foul aspersions. Neither the action of mob nor the coarse conduct and coarse language of Watson and Blanton can be considered as being representative in any way of the sentiment of the south. The southland is thus unfortunately libeled by circumstances and individuals that are directly antagonistic to her thought, her sentiment her aspirations and her spirit.

Of the two congressional evils Senator Watson is decidedly the worse, because of the exalted position he occupies and because of the coarser vulgarity of his conduct and vocabulary. He has come to be the "stormy petrel" of the Senate, with none of the redeeming qualities possessed by the late Senator Tillman of South Carolina, or any of the other congressional specialists.

On the slightest provocation he surrenders to his violent temper and while under the spell of it his language is that of a fishmonger. In his brief senatorial career he has been the principal in several disgusting scenes in the Senate, but none has shown him so clearly the crass vulgarian as his attempt to pick a fight with Senator Phipps the other day on the Senate floor.

The cause in which Watson tried to enlist his physical prowess was just as vulgar as the argument of fists he tried to invoke. It was all over the selection of Georgia postmasters, who were not to the liking of Watson. It might be true that Senator Phipps violated senatorial courtesy, but that did not excuse the crass exhibition of the Georgian when he walked over to the desk of the Colorado senator with the Senate in session and threatened to make "pulp" of the westerner's face. The newspaper reports say that Senator Phipps tried to reason with his assailant, but that Senator Watson declared most vehemently:

If you say another word to me I'll knock your face in with my fist. Just come down off that step and I'll punch your face.

This is nothing more nor less than the argument of the mob, and Senator Watson during the greater part of his career has been the embodiment of the mob spirit. The kind of statesmanship that he typifies, billingsgate and fistcuffs, is as much a disgrace to the south as is the bloodthirsty barbarity of the men who trample upon law and legal machinery when they torture and kill some helpless victim. Both cast a stain upon the fair name, the high ideals and the lofty sentiments of a great section of this country.

It has been said that Tom Watson stands in the highest lawmaking body of the nation as a living protest against the policies of former President Wilson and no higher tribute could be paid the latter than this. Mr. Wilson is surely blessed with his enemies when they are of the type of Tom Watson. We can well understand how the clear and forward looking vision, the lofty ideals, the fine sentiment and the delicate diction of the well, the nerve of the doctor at least late Senator Tillman of South Carolina shows that he can qualify as a nerve specialist.

"SOCIAL EQUALITY."
Boston Mass. Guardian
A white American and a Black American met once, and had the following conversation. "Do you want social equality?" asked the white of the black. "Have you got it?" said the black man to the white. "Sure," said the white American. "Well," replied the dusky man, "I want it for I am as good an American as you are." "Well we Anglo-Saxons—" "Yes; put that Anglo-Saxon stuff in the wastebasket," replied the Colored man. "The last time I heard from them the French had dog collars around their necks and made them act as nurse maids to the swine and sleep under the barn at night. Tell that stuff to the birds."

Social equality is by no means intermarriage, for marriage is not an equality affair at all, and has nothing to do with it. In a family the children are more equal socially than the parents. When we black people say we don't want it, we deny ourselves admission into the ranks of real men, the manufacturers, bankers, actors, big farmers, and business men. A black millionaire and a white millionaire are social equals.

When a man develops himself as effectively as any man of any other race of men in the same line he is their equal. Social equality as the white southerner says he understands it is the sign of his ignorance.

Jim-Crow Y. M. C. A.'s, cars and so forth are the low standards accepted by people who are ignorant and are a real menace to the social welfare of real Americans. As a rule ignorant white men and ignorant Colored men want segregation. Big, strong, efficient white men and black men don't want anything that means backwardness. When a white man wants black men segregated, he admits that he is afraid of them. When Black men want it they admit their inferiority.

WHEN WHITE MEETS BLACK

Kansas City Sun.
By John Louis Hill

MISTAKES OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH

4/15/22
(For Associated Negro Press.)

To their very great credit, clinging steadfastly to a conviction, hosts of Colored people have been eminently successful in the North. By sheer ability and tenacity they have overcome all obstacles and in every walk of life have made names and attained positions creditable to any race anywhere. But this success is due, not to the fact that the South has held

them inferior or the North "equal" to the white man, but because they have been able to demonstrate by character and mentality their ability to attain and their fitness to hold eminent positions. And, despite his social status, the Negro has attained quite as high degree of intellectual achievement in the South as he has in the North. His great colleges, Universities, and other splendid institutions in the South bear out the statement. We must, however, give credit to Northern initiative in making possible this intellectual success in the south.

The North has been wrong in assuming that it as a section of the country is more competent and better fitted to solve the race problem than is the south. The North has had opportunity to demonstrate its ability in this direction and has failed. The North has not been altogether sincere with the Negro. The Negro accepted the North's overtures at full face value, came here to make good and after having made sufficient success to enable him to take his place among property owners, the North promptly began to throw bombs under his house and to demand segregation of all his kind. When the Negro's presence began to interfere with the business and to depreciate property values of the Northern white man, the Negro at once became persona non grata.

The race problem is not sectional and both the North and South greatly err in so regarding it. The South's kindly feeling toward the Negro is genuine, and it only needs to dispose itself of an erroneous sentiment relative to the colored people's being intended only for a lowly position in life. This wrought in the mind of the South, the Colored race will advance in that clime as nowhere else on earth. The North must make good its long held position of a generous attitude toward the Negro and must not discriminate against him as it has recently so often done. When both sections of our country adjust their false attitudes toward the Colored race, the last vestige of the old sectional feeling will have been destroyed, and the race question will be a national and not a sectional issue. work out its own solution. Then, the Negro will hold his place in the complexity of racial strains and unembarrassed by racial prejudices, his prejudices, his previous advancement will be as nothing when compared with his future achievements.

The most serious and difficult phase of the race problem relative to the Negro lies not with the Negro himself, but with the white people

both North and South, who, heretofore, as a rule, have not considered their own erroneous positions a barrier to the way of its quick solution.

Willcox Disagrees with Author of "Birthright"

Star of Zion
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. April 1. "Few Negroes in real life have blundered as Peter Siner did," said William G. Willcox, chairman of the board of trustees of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, in a recent letter to T. S. Stribling, the author of the novel, "Birthright," which ran serially in the Century Magazine and now appears in book form. Mr. Willcox's letter to Mr. Stribling is as follows:

"I have just read the 'Birthright' with much interest and I am tempted to ask if you had any definite object in writing it.

The description of conditions at 'Niggertown' is a vivid picture of the aftermath of slavery. It is, as I suppose you intended, a description of conditions which existed in the worst sections of the South and which confronted anyone who sought to educate or improve the Negro people. Unfortunately such conditions are not confined to any race or section and it would not be difficult to find similar pictures among the white immigrants and factory operators in the North. Such pictures do not indicate the character of capacity of the race as a whole, but rather the morbid conditions resulting from the environment of a particular group.

"Peter Siner represents a weak man who has been given a college course without any solid foundation either in education or in moral character. His dismal failure furnishes a strong endorsement of Booker Washington's theory that Negro education must begin with fundamental training of the hand, the mind and the character and build from the ground up. Few Negroes in real life have blundered as Peter did while thousands trained at Tuskegee and other schools are today making good in all sections of the country.

"The general effect of the book seems to me to discourage the effort

to educate and elevate the Negro race. I cannot believe this to be your intention and I am sure that the facts do not at all warrant any such disheartening picture."

RICHMOND VA. EVE. DISPATCH
APRIL 15, 1922

The World of Books

The Negro in Fiction

BIRTHRIGHT. By F. S. Stribling. The Century Co., New York.

We are accustomed to three types of stories dealing with the negro. One is the Thomas Nelson Page type describing the African of the old regime—the faithful darky who loves his white master with a devotion that is doglike and sublime. Another is the Octavius Cohen sort, which pictures the negro as an incredibly humorous and irresponsible being—this is the type most popular with white readers. The third is the literature that paints the negro as a victim—it began with Uncle Tom's Cabin and is still with us. Dubois's Souls of Black Folk is its most famous work of recent years.

What is needed is a literature that will present the negro as he really is—not as a romantic figure, a buffoon or a victim, but as a human being differing somewhat from the white man and caught in an environment that is partly tragic, but also full of promise for the future. The present novel, Birthright, is a creditable effort to create such a literature of realism and if it partly fails it also partly succeeds, for it is a pioneer book.

Birthright partly succeeds in that it presents in its principal character a hero who is perfectly human and natural. Peter Siner, just out of Harvard, is a young idealist who burns to emulate Booker Washington. He fails in leadership, however, drifts along for a time, and finally marries an octoroon girl and goes North to live in a pleasanter atmosphere than his home town in Tennessee. The story relates his experiences in Hooker's Bend and his reactions to them.

Hooker's Bend is described with the somewhat painful realism of Main Street. It is a Southern Gopher Prairie. The people, both white and black, are unattractive. Here, we think, the book begins to err—to cease to be good art because to cease to reflect life. The vices and degradations of the negro race are painted with great minuteness—the virtues are not mentioned. Indeed, this is a characteristic of the books that represent the black man as a victim, and Birthright belongs partly to this class. It is not completely realistic. The negro is by no means the unhappy, static creature he is described as being in Birthright. He

has made much progress in half a century; he is definitely better off economically and socially than he was fifty years or so ago. There are many well-to-do negroes; some rich ones. Then in the impression that Birthright creates of hopeless economic bondage and incurably evil living conditions the book strikes a false note.

Birthright is no more true in describing the white race. The whites are represented as hateful, sneering, unsympathetic. They are always seeking to take advantage of the negroes in every possible way, and the negroes revenge themselves by petty thieving. Indeed, the thesis is set up that the negroes in Hooker's Bend are forced to steal in order to make ends meet. And this is, presumably, the year of grace, 1919 or 1920! It is after the world war. Yet people in Hooker's Bend pay their cooks—and good cooks—only a dollar a week. Surely, this is false coloring! Where in the United States can cooks—negro or otherwise—be obtained for a dollar a week? It is such false touches that obscure the value of the book. Again, the white people in Hooker's Bend are represented as being wholly indifferent to the misfortunes of their negro friends. The white doctor will not visit a dying colored woman until assured that he will be paid by a white man. This is so unlikely as to be bad art indeed. White people in the South are customarily very kind to negroes in affliction—the unfeeling are exceptions. But in Hooker's Bend nearly all the white people are utterly unfeeling. They are a compound of selfishness and malice. The one exception is an eccentric old lawyer who feels a certain slight sympathy for Peter Siner because he is himself a Harvard graduate. Except for him all is hard repression.

Thus, it happens that Birthright is only in part artistic—in part, it is propagandist. It insinuates rather than says openly that the negro is a victim. The fault, as given in this book and in all other books partaking of the propagandist character, lies with the white people. They have, in slavery and since slavery, made the negro what he is—his evils and vices are largely a white creation. The remedy is not in the progress and moral reform of the negro himself, but in something that the white race must do for him. Apparently, the pro-negro advocates look on the black man as hopelessly lacking in will-power, as having no iron in the blood. He is always the victim of circum-

stances or of oppression—he is never a being with his future in his own hands. It is in this respect, we think, that all stories that deal sympathetically with the colored race fundamentally fail. They plead for the whites to do something for the negro—it is difficult to say what—but not for the negro to do anything for himself. Booker Washington seems to have been the only individual who saw that the salvation of the black man must be worked out by himself, as all other races have worked out their salvation.

Birthright is exceedingly well written. The style is very readable, in spite of the author's penchant for unusual words. The characterization of the two main figures—Peter and Cissie—is admirable. Cissie is one of the rarest types in literature, a natural colored girl. Compared with the caricatures of Cohen, she is remarkable. The author's invention is good. The scenes, with a few exceptions, are natural. But for the propagandist taint that mars the book, it would be a work of art, indeed. As it is, it is one of the most interesting books ever written on the negro race. We think that it is the forerunner of a genuine literature dealing with the black man—a literature, realistic and not propagandist that will be one of the richest contributions to American letters.

H. J. E.

In Old Louisiana

THE INHERITANCE OF JEAN TROUVE.
By Nevil Henshaw. Bobbs-Merrill Co.
As refreshing as a cool, clean breeze on a muggy day.

shaw's novel, "The Inheritance of Jean Trouve." It should be welcomed by a reading public, surfeited with ultra-realism.

The atmosphere of this book is its real charm. The author paints a lovely picture of an old New Orleans street and the passing of a Mardi Gras parade as seen through the eyes of a small dreaming boy. He makes his readers live among the trappers on the Mississippi, and in the picturesqueness of a small Louisiana town.

The story is simple and told by Jean Trouve himself in a reminiscent narrative style. The boy, denied his rights by a wealthy grandfather after his father's death, pluckily escapes from a villainous country storekeeper, falls in with a group of husky, good-hearted trappers, meets and becomes a brother to Toinette, a pretty little country girl. Denied a material inheritance, he finds he has inherited something greater—pluck and enterprise—and he wins his grandfather's esteem after a hard struggle.

The love theme is a pretty one, with just that old fashioned flavor that is good after too much "Beautiful and Damned." The plot is slight, and the climax is perhaps a trifle weak. But this is, nevertheless, a charming story of true-hearted people, of a

have young man and of an enchanting scene.

F. D. P.

Race and Class Prejudice Scored By Dr. Harrell

Pastor Urges Tech Seniors to Recognize Rights of Others.

Urging upon them the principle of service as essential to success and necessary to the realization of happiness in life, Dr. C. J. Harrell delivered an impressive message to the graduating class of Georgia Tech at baccalaureate services Sunday morning. The First Methodist church was crowded with relatives and friends of the 198 seniors at the services and an inspiring program of music lent its effectiveness of the occasion.

Dr. Harrell's subject was "The Idealism of Jesus and with many illustrations of the development of modern civilization through reforms and changes during the Christian era he showed how the philosophy of Jesus had shown the true relationship of man to society.

"Man is endowed with great dignity and therefore every man has certain inalienable rights," Dr. Harrell said. "And on the other hand, every man has a duty to his fellow man, to serve others unselfishly if he would find true happiness, and not merely pleasures in life."

Accepts Rights of Others.

Pointing out the idea of the individual rights of men expressed by Jesus had caused the overthrow of feudalism in the middle ages, the church reformation, the American revolution, Dr. Harrell urged the

the law in their hands and heap vengeance on the criminal.

"Oh, for men to cry out against such as this! The worst of men and the blackest of men have certain rights that heated passions must not violate. Our ideals are put to the test by our attitude toward the weak and outcast. If we learn the mind of Christ and get His outlook, we will know that there is such a thing as the brotherhood of man."

"The second principle in Jesus' teaching concerning man is that man is each individual's debt to invest then for the good of the world. The point of emphasis changes. It changes

from rights to debts. The rights which man has give dignity; the service which he renders crowns him with glory.

Principle of Service.

"The principle of service has not gained such headway in the world as the principle of human rights. This part of our Lord's teachings concerning man and his relations lagged behind for many centuries, but it has leaped into prominence within the last fifty years, and I believe it is coming into its own.

"Whatever one's personal opinions may be about the league of nations, he must recognize that it is a testimony to the fact that nations are learning that they cannot be pitted against each other. We will realize our true national glory when we defend the weak and help one another and consecrate our powers on the altars of the common good. We have not come to it yet. Alas, that America lacked faith and vision in the critical hour of the nations! We have not come to it yet, but we are coming!"

RACE AND CLASS PREJUDICE SCORED

Continued from first page.

seniors to accept as a principal of their lives the recognition of the rights of all other men without regard to color or condition. He attacked as the opposite to this principle all classes of race prejudice.

"There are divisions of race which for the well being of the race cannot be disregarded, but this is no excuse for race or class prejudice," Dr. Harrell said. "Our beloved state is suffering from the deeds of mobs who take to set out to make a living but to invest a life.

"Whether you weave cloth or build bridges or make roads to wind through the forests like ribbons, you have the privilege of serving mankind and increasing the sum total of human happiness and well being. Let this motive actuate you and this ideal lead you. Work faithfully in work that is beneficial to mankind and you have worked well."

In conclusion, Dr. Harrell urged the graduates to set this conception of life before them at the beginning of their careers and carry it with them to the end. He urged them not

OBLIGATIONS OF THE WHITE RACE

BY PROF. JOHN C. ADAMS

LIKE charity, the obligations of the white race begin at home. It is all very well to do missionary work among other races, but the first consideration of the white race ought to be its own prosperity and security. The white man ought to feed himself before he feeds some other race; he ought to have a more vital and active interest in the economic improvement of the rank and file of his own kind before diverting his resources and energy to the improvement of other bloods.

Asserting this principle for the white race does not deny it to other blood races. Black and yellow men have a right to assert the same principle. In fact, they do assert and practice it. Every race, as a race, acts from self-interest, and the race in which all groups and communities most closely approximate the same idea as to what really is the self-interest of the race as a whole, eventually becomes powerful and surpasses in progress those races in which there is no unity of thought or purpose.

Two men in a rowboat can cross Niagara River if they attempt the trip

CHICAGO ILL BLADE

JUNE 17, 1922



"On you (the women) is rapidly devolving the duty of making In-

dianapolis a safe place for your daughters to leave their homes unescorted."

Interest. Having been given a paddle already it is trying to drive our national boat in channels advantageous to black men.

Realizing that we cannot eliminate the negro question from this country overnight, and that the black will remain with us for some time and increase as long as he remains, the obligation of the white race which founds this Government and built up this Nation, is to draw a hard and fast line which will make it impossible for the negro to turn our national boat from the course which best serves the interest of the white race, and which precludes the possibility of the black race undermining the foundations of white society and civilization.

Separation of the races is a defensive measure fully justified by circumstances and in the best interest of the white race as well as of the black race. The question is becoming acute in every large city and action cannot be deferred or sidestepped much longer. Indianapolis, Indiana, is an example. In that city recently was held the first of a series of conferences on the subject. Mrs. O. J. Deeds, prominent in the women's club life of Indianapolis, addressed this conference. Here is but a part of what she said:

"Conditions that never should be tolerated in the body politic now exist, and the men in whom the franchise has been vested appear powerless to right them, and ON YOU (THE WOMEN) IS RAPIDLY DEVOLVING THE DUTY OF MAKING INDIANAPOLIS A SAFE PLACE FOR YOUR DAUGHTERS TO LEAVE THEIR HOMES UNESCORTED"

"There was a time when even the most careful mothers permitted their little daughters to run to the grocery or visit their neighbors, without a single fear that the great State of Indiana was unable to protect them from the hands of fiends who recognize no virtue."

"And now we white folk are having another battle to fight due to attempts of the white politicians to foist an evil upon a thoughtless public by their practice of appointing negroes to official positions of authority over white people, thereby forcing the mothers, wives and daughters of other white men to associate with him; a most despicable practice resented by white women of the North who propose to no longer suffer the indignities as a result of such mis-

guided policies.

"The negro is not the equal of the white man, and he never will be, and we are not going to permit him to be thrust upon us as our equal, but propose on the other hand, to educate our white politicians up to a point where within five years from today you will not find a man in public life who is willing to acknowledge that he favors negro equality of any kind—social, political, economic, or what not."

"There ought to be, and there must be before this question is settled, a segregation law in every State separating whites from negroes. There ought to be a law in every State prohibiting intermarriage between the two races; and the whites and negroes ought to be separated in all governmental activities, in the Army, in the Navy, in the schools, on the street cars and railroads and other common carriers."

Those are brave words from a woman and, what is more important, they are true words.

There ought not to be a question about segregation of the race in public schools. The intimate association on terms of schoolroom equality of boys and girls cuts both ways. The negro child corrupts the white child's English and spreads to white children the



"When you take a white girl and a negro boy into a democratic schoolroom and seat them with only a narrow aisle between them, all you are doing is injuring both of them and complicating our future race problem."

superstitions of the black. The intimate associations of white children with negro children is a menace to white morals and health. It imbues the negro child with an idea of equality which he does not and cannot attain, and as he grows up with this misconception of his standing it becomes, increasingly, a source of mischief in the community life.

WHEN YOU TAKE A WHITE GIRL AND A NEGRO BOY INTO A DEMOCRATIC SCHOOLROOM AND SEAT THEM WITH ONLY A NARROW AISLE BETWEEN THEM, ALL YOU

Residuum of Reading

By Burton Rascoe

IT IS not with any wish to disparage the interesting novel "Birth-right," by T. B. Stribling, that I would direct your attention to what is, perhaps, a better one. I refer to "White and Black," by H. A. Shands. No one, to my knowledge, has so well as Mr. Shands gotten into the printed page the quality and spirit of the Southern negro's speech. And no one, in consequence, has revealed so plainly that this speech is beautiful. The negro's fine sense of rhythm and cadence is here, avoiding in its elisions the sharp edges of English words. The negro's feeling for colorful and expressive sounds is here in his inventions and merging of nouns, verbs and adjectives.

To do this successfully Mr. Shands has had to be faithful to his record. He has had to avoid the pitfalls of the intentionally comic, the burlesque and the extravagant. He has had to be interested as much in what his negroes say as in the way they say it. He has had to use their language as a vehicle of actual mental processes and emotions. He has had, in fine, to be interested in negroes as human beings and to maintain this interest throughout the unfolding of a novel involving the interdependence of negroes and whites in a Southern community.

The frank picture Mr. Shands gives us of the negroes is not encouraging; but neither is his picture of the Southern whites. Two racial groups, widely differing in traditions, interests and capabilities, are thrown together in the South in unnatural and unhappy relationship. The white man, to whom the day's work is a duty no less exigent than that of protecting his young or obeying the law, is the master setting the task for the negro, to whom work is an inconvenience he avoids when he can. The white man supports the Puritan tradition in precept if not in practice; keeps his home and family integrated as far as he is able, saves his money; endeavors to give his children better advantages than he enjoyed (largely by exploiting negro labor), and regards his church as a prop and stimulus to his will and character. The laboring negro's amours are as casual as a fly's; he lives as a happy sensualist, incurious of the future and indifferent to success and progress, and he regards the church the white man has given him solely as an emotional stimulus and as an aesthetic delight.

The efforts of the whites to impose upon the negroes the white man's civilization, his beliefs and customs have only accentuated the tragedy of the situation. The male whites have, quite generally, regarded negro girls and women as animal instruments of pubescent experiment and adult dereliction. This has brought anguish and disgrace into the homes of the negroes whom the whites have taught to think and live according to the white man's ideal of the good life. And, moreover, it has aroused resentment, animosity, hatred and desire for revenge in negroes who know that for one of them even to address a white woman familiarly means a lynching. The troubles arise, of course, when both the whites and the blacks give rein to their passions and forget the warm human relationship they bear to each other, a relationship which in its usual aspect is based upon kindness, tolerance, sympathy and a certain degree of respect.

THERE you have the abstract situation which Mr. Shands in his fine, moving and troubling drama has turned into the concrete by showing us living characters in beautiful and poignant relation to this set of circumstances. It is an elementary tale: A family of negroes performs the menial labor of the family of an industrious, strong fibered, upright white farm owner, who commands at once the respect and love of his negro dependents; the white man's son seduces the negro's favorite daugh-

ter with a bauble; this is a repetition of a misstep the boy's father had made in his own youth; there is a remarkable scene in which the heart-broken negro, trained in awe of the body of his master and his master's people, beats the master's favorite horse in impotent anguish and revenge; and finally the master himself is shot on his own doorstep while trying to protect a negro from the Ku-Klux Klan.

It is all rounded out as perfectly and as inevitably as an Euripidean tragedy. You are shown human beings helpless in a hopeless plight contrived by fate. The tone and the attitude is one of pity and compassion. There are scenes which may arouse bitterness toward and contempt for characters and masses which figure therein; but Mr. Shand's position is unequivocally that of an artist who sees the situation as a whole and, so seeing it, has only a resigned regret that it exists. He stresses nothing; he exaggerates nothing; he has no facile solution to offer. He has merely written a highly poetic tragic drama out of existing materials in contemporary American life. And he has enriched that drama by employing in character, the true negro dialect, a dialect that is rich in music and poetic charm. I should recommend the novel as a literary achievement of significance and value.

MR. SINCLAIR LEWIS, who is impulsive, has performed what is perhaps an ill-mannered but a valuable service to American letters. He has aspersed the Britons in London for their neglect and gratuitous abuse of American writers. Mr. Lewis, according to the cables, was prompted to his action by the inactivity of "Main Street" as a commercial commodity in the English bookshops. This may or may not be so. The English writers present at the meeting where Mr. Lewis disengaged himself of the grievances he had against the British are said to have retorted that they cannot be held responsible because the British reading public is not interested in buying a book of small town American life. This may or may not be so. Let us hope it isn't, because it is so much worse as a piece of insolence than Mr. Lewis's hot-headed remarks.

The point is simply that if the British reading public is not interested in reading a book about small town American life it is because that public has so consistently and frequently been led to believe by British writers and critics that nothing of any literary interest whatever is to be had out of this country. The American reading public, on the other hand, has been interested in buying stories of British small town life by Sheila Kaye-Smith, Caradoc Evans, Oliver Onions, D. H. Lawrence, J. D. Beresford and dozens of others, precisely because that American writers and critics have written appreciatively about the work of these writers not as authors of stories of British small town life, but as creators of literature, even if it is a literature only of a sort.

Most of the British reviews, however, never miss an opportunity to speak contemptuously of American writers. All the fifth rate hack novelists and minor poets in England clamor for lec-

ture engagements in America. And, what is more, they usually get them. They are treated with courtesy here; they go back with more money than they can earn at home in half a lifetime, and ever after they are condescending about America and about American writers, who are infinitely their superiors. The most conspicuous offender is J. C. Squire, a poet with a talent somewhat less than that of F. F. V.'s most obscure contributor and a critic who is capable only of the dullest commonplaces. He has, for some curious reason, almost a czaristic power in British publishing circles, and as the editor of "The London Mercury" he and Edward Shanks, a vapid versifier lose no opportunity to dismiss America's very best literary offerings with demeaning epithets. . . . A salient corrective for this sort of thing would be for us all to stay away in great numbers from the lectures by the neboatload of British poets.

Having given much study to criticism (or reviewing wherein an opinion is expressed) I have had always a lively sense of the responsibility involved in the work. The problem is to be fair and just and yet to discharge one's obligation to one's readers. I have formulated what I think is the perfect adverse review: "I sincerely hope the book will give the pleasure the author intended. I am sure it will to the people who are like him in mind and imagination. I may be permitted, perhaps, to observe, for what it is worth, that the book gave me no pleasure whatever."

ARE DOING IS INJURING BOTH OF THEM AND COMPLICATING OUR FUTURE RACE PROBLEM.

The obligations of the white race are first to do whatever is necessary for the protection of racial purity and racial integrity. That means to keep a white government, white; and to keep a white society white. Having protected

its own by keeping in white hands the authority to direct the boat and to use the paddles, it is up to the white race to be fair with the blacks, paying them the full social value of any service they may render and taking no advantage of their ignorance.



"While these two race interests pull against and neutralize each other, the current gets in its work, carrying the boat nearer and nearer the menacing falls."

A NORTHERN VIEW OF SEGREGATION

Jay E. House in the Philadelphia Public Ledger. *Montgomery Advertiser*

"I am assuming," writes Prof. Emmett J. Scott of Howard University, "that you will welcome any communication which will place before you the feeling of colored people with regard to the hateful segregation practices to which colored people are constantly subjected in this country." 7-9-22

Prof. Scott assumes wrong. We don't want to hear anything about it. We once had the job of keeping 7000 colored voters placated and convinced that they were not being discriminated against in any way in the administration of public affairs. We know all about their feelings, but we can't do anything to heal them. So, why should we bother?

The facts are that a majority of the white race—perhaps a very large majority—objects to quasi-social contact with the colored race. It is a personal matter and, as such, is not subject to statutory enactment or affected by any abstract principle of fairness or justice. The whites are largely in the majority, they have the influence and the power, and they are going to keep them. The colored man will continue to be segregated, physically wherever contact can possibly be avoided, and always in the mind of the white population of this country.

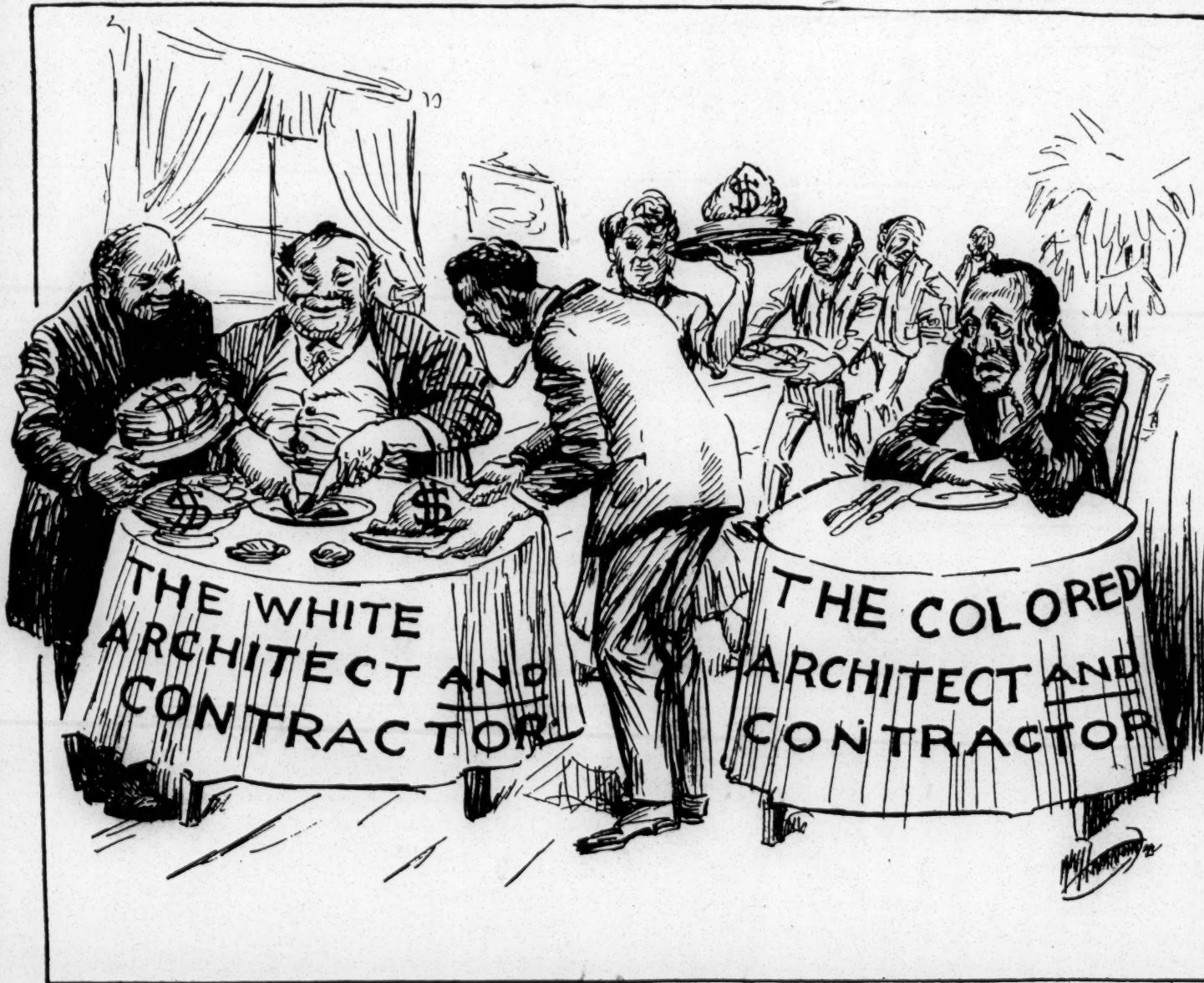
For the colored people hating segregation is a waste of time. They can't do anything about it and the condition will exist as long as humanity is what it is.

Race Problem—1922
United States.

What Title Would You Suggest For This Cartoon?

Washington Tribune D.C. 11-4-22

Why not attend the Howard-Lincoln Game Thanksgiving Day at the Expense of the Washington Tribune? Six Choice Box Seats to be given away. Read details below



The Tribune will offer handsome prizes for the best titles submitted for the above cartoon.

Rules of the Contest

officially accepted.

Two handsome prizes will be offered to the winners. The first prize will be four (4) choice box seats at the Howard-Lincoln football game, which will be played at American League Park Thanksgiving morning at 10:30 o'clock. The second prize will be two (2) choice box seats at the same game.

The contest is open to everyone living

within the District of Columbia. Titles must not be over 15 words in length and not connected with The Tribune's office force. The Prize Contest will close midnight November 20th. In case two or more people send in the winning title the one first received will win the prize. Therefore it behooves contestants to send in their titles at once.

Each person is allowed to send in only one title. The full name and address of the sender must accompany each title submitted or it will not be

The winner's name will appear in The Tribune of Saturday, November 25th.

Three judges will be selected from among the local architects and builders, and their decision will be final.

the Presbyterian Advocate
ARKANSAS WOMEN DECLARE ON NEGRO QUESTION

Among the statements made by southern white women concerning the women of the Negro race, those of the women members of the Arkansas State Interracial Committee stand out prominently.

Among other things, they said: "Public sentiment concerning and toward the Negro has too long been formed by influences of prejudice, passion, indifference and ignorance. Public sentiment is the greatest of all powers and can be changed only by facts and better understandings. We purpose to seek the facts concerning this question and to take a part in the formation of a public sentiment which shall raise the standards of our civilization, lessen the unhappy conditions about us, make impossible the present forms of lawlessness and disrespect for the courts and remove contempt and the exploitation of human life.

"We are unwilling to temporize, and are determined to rise superior to petty issues and to condemn and deal directly with those things which degrade the homes and civilization of both races. We desire justice and fair play for all men. We know this cannot come except through a just consideration of the rights of others in the courts, in educational opportunities, and in private life.

"In all fairness we demand at the hands of public officials the same protection for the lowliest and most helpless, not only of our own race, but of this other race to which we are bound by cords which cannot be broken. We view with alarm the cheapness of human life, and call for a re-establishment of faith in human rights and justice.

"As members of a race which numbers but one-fourth of the world's population, we recognize that it is the race with the greatest earthly powers. Since the test of character in an individual or race is not to be found in the attitude or treatment of those on equal battleground, but of those who are helpless and whose term of opportunity has been shorter than one's own, we appeal to our race to demonstrate its claim to superior qualities in a bigness and breadth of soul which will reach out and give a square deal and a man's chance to this race, which calls our country his own and is true to its flag.

"We recognize that the degradation of women is the doom of any race and that among the number of underlying causes of the present racial situation in America is the lack of respect and protection for Negro womanhood. Recognizing with sympathetic appreciation the high standards of virtue set by the best element of Negro women, we pledge ourselves to an

effort to emphasize the single standard of morals for both men and women.

"Believing that silence and inaction in the face of undisputed evils paralyzes the soul, we, the women of this committee in annual session assembled, pledge ourselves to a calm and unimpassioned study of this whole question, and to active participation in all worthy efforts to make our country a better place in which the weakest and most unprotected may live in security and in peace."

JAPS NOT ELIGIBLE TO NATURALIZATION

Montgomery Advertiser
11-14-22
Associated Press
WASHINGTON, Nov. 13.—Japan

cannot be naturalized in the United States and cannot become citizens of this country, the supreme court of the United States decided today, in its first construction statutes bearing on the subject. The decision was the first delivered by Justice Sutherland as a member of the court and was handed down in a case brought by Takao Ozawa, who in 1914 applied for citizenship in Hawaii.

SEES WORLD UNREST IN RACE RIVALRY

BROOKLYN N.Y. TIMES

OCTOBER 16, 1922

Hampton Institute Head Speaks Here to Ask Aid.

That the current discussion among the Nordic and Anglo-Saxon circles on the comparative distinction of races tends to produce a disquieting attitude in the world and will ultimately defeat its own ends was the theme of an address last night by Dr. James E. Gregg, president of Hampton Institute, at the Central Congregational Church, Hancock st., near Franklin ave.

Dr. Gregg was the invited guest of the church and spoke in the interests of Hampton Institute by making an appeal for aid on behalf of that institution. He said:

"When a man proudly proclaims his superiority above his fellow beings we quickly put him down in our judgment as cheap and negligible. Correspondingly, one feels somewhat discouraged about our Nordic and Anglo-Saxon superiority when we find members of the Anglo-Saxon race themselves trumpetize it from the housetops. Are we great indeed, in justice, in mercy, in patience and in righteousness? For in these qualities alone can a nation or race feel exalted.

"America today has the matchless opportunity by proving to the world that she can and will solve the truly great racial problems that perplex and confront her. We should not be dis-

couraged because of lynchings and race riots that often occur, any more than we should feel alarmed because of the many divorces in the country. The latter does not prove that American homes are disintegrating. There are millions of happy homes and there are many people who honestly side with the Negro in his march for improvement."

In making an appeal for funds to carry on the educational work of Hampton Institute Dr. Gregg cited the extraordinary progress of the Negroes since the abolishment of slavery to the present day. He stated that illiteracy among the Negroes has been reduced from 90 to 20 percent, that homes owned by them have increased from 12,000 to 650,000; that farms operated by Negroes in the United States have increased from 20,000 to almost a million today, and the number of churches has increased from 700 to 45,000.

George Foster Peabody spoke briefly on the strides of Anglo-Saxon democracy and urged that the United States assume the leadership of the world and champion the cause of racial progress and peace.

and addresses. NO MANUSCRIPTS CAN BE RETURNED.
The Tribune.

Chicago Daily Tribune
A SOUTHERN VIEW OF OUR NEGRO PROBLEM.

Tribune **PROBLEM.** 10/17/22
Chicago, Oct. 14.—The report of the committee appointed by the University of Chicago to consider the status of the Negro in Chicago and make recommendation for his welfare and better treatment has been published, and should have the careful consideration of thoughtful and responsible citizens. The essence of the report is that white people should forget that the Negro is black and treat him as if he were white, permitting no discriminations. It especially encourages a mingling of the races the assumption being that if the Negro could bleach his skin and straighten his hair he would be a white man. The menace of such a sentiment is at once seen by any one who has had any experience with and given any thought to the Negro race, for it holds out false hopes to the Negro, and turns him from a useful and kindly person into a self-assertive and overbearing and arrogant one.

The net effect of the report will be the creation of race prejudice and a further deepening of the prejudice which already exists.

If the Negro was the same as the white man, save the pigment in his blood, would he not have established some degree of civilization in Africa? For uncounted aeons he has lived there, but except where brought under the dominion of the white man, he remains the same untutored savage as when his race began. No single ascent has he made in the scale of human progress, in science, government or religion.

Most of the Negroes who have risen above the grade of servitors, Booker Washington, Fred Douglass, and many more that might be mentioned, have done so because of the white blood in their veins.

The Negro's progress is only possible when he remains a Negro. When he tries to become a white man his true progress ceases and his troubles begin.

Some minor circumstances lights the spark to the tinder that has been piling up all these years and then comes the horrible conflagration.

But it will be said, the Negro is here, what shall we do with him? First of all, neither by legislation nor by intimidation of any kind should he be given the thought that he is ever to associate with white people on terms of equality. Let him understand that God created him as a Negro, that he is to remain a Negro and that as a Negro the whites will give him every assistance and encouragement to better his condition. The Negro generally is industrious, but he is thrifless. His earnings are squandered and he does not know how to practice self-denial. Teach him, therefore, the value of thrift, how to save his earnings, how to build a home for his family. Inculcate in him loyalty to employers, honesty of purpose, temperance, morality. Teach him that politicians who promise him his "rights" are his worst enemies. Discourage his activity in politics, where he is but a pawn for the intriguing, corrupt ward healer. Build him schools, fitted for his capability and aptitude. Give him amusement places, wholesome but of the kind that he will respond to. Teach him the value of order, and obedience to constituted authority. R. L. B.

Chicago Daily Tribune
BUT BIOLOGISTS SAY INTELLIGENCE IS INHERITED, NOT ACQUIRED.

Chicago, Oct. 19.—Regarding the article published Oct. 17 under the Voice of the People entitled "Southerner's Views of the Race Question": 10/24/22

It appears that the writer is not only badly informed concerning the fundamental principles of good government and civic prosperity but is also not closely enough acquainted with the Negro to fully comprehend his latent intelligence and ability.

Good government requires active participation of all citizens; education produces intelligent citizens. The Negro, composing at least 10 per cent of the total population, must and always will be a very important segment of the people of the United States. He has played an important part in the history and development of this country and is very creditably distinguishing himself as entirely capable of higher education. This fact can be said also of the African Negro, who we will admit has no admixture of other blood to aid or hinder.

The ability of the Negro to learn anything cannot be questioned, and the fact that education cannot help but produce better citizens and consequently a better government cannot be denied. Civic prosperity, of course, goes hand in hand with education and good government. The writer of the aforementioned article will admit with all fairness that the average Negro of any representative northern city enjoys more prosperity than the average Negro of any representative southern city. There is more opportunity for personal betterment in the north.

Let us give the Negro a chance to fully develop. I am for fair play and color makes no difference. L. A. HALL

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE
SEPTEMBER 12, 1922
RACIAL IRRITATIONS.

Prompted by the recent clash between the races in Lincoln park, **THE TRIBUNE** has received numerous heated and intolerant letters from both whites and blacks. Each has blamed the other for the trouble. We do not assume to judge between them, but we are impressed by the evidence that there is a chip on the shoulder of each party.

An illustration of this condition came to our attention on an elevated train shortly after the Lincoln park affair. Four colored laborers occupied considerable more than half of a car seat designed to accommodate eight persons comfortably. Three whites occupied the other end of the bench. Opposite, eight white men and women sat, without crowding. A white man entered, counted the passengers on each bench, and then squeezed himself into a seat between the whites and blacks. The three whites crowded together. The blacks braced themselves against such a move without even taking up the few inches of vacant space wasted between them. They stared defiantly at the newcomer on their bench. He sat on the edge of the seat and submitted to discomfort.

The colored men grinned at each other. No doubt their vanity or pride of equality, or whatever it might be called, was pleasantly thrilled. But at that moment, if we are any judge of human expression, it would have taken little to precipitate a riot in that car. And after such a riot the colored folk would have arisen in protest, and written to the newspapers that they were abused and assaulted by prejudiced and arrogant whites to the disgrace of Chicago, etc.

Such chips must be removed from popular shoulders. Whether any one likes it or not, we have many thousands of colored residents in Chicago. They have been welcomed by some lines of business and coddled by some classes of politicians. They are here, and we must make the best of them; get along with them. But it is equally necessary that they should get along with us. To do so they should show as much consideration for the whites as they want the whites to show to them. They must behave themselves and teach their children to do likewise. Those who do not grasp this fact will be taught, at painful cost. Those who do will receive consideration and decent treatment.

Race Problem 1922.

United States

Women to Study Race Problem

T. C. WATE
JUNE 17, 1922

Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Among Leaders in Movement to Better Conditions of Colored People.

To study the history of the colored race and its present-day problems a joint committee of representative women from both races has just been appointed, according to an announcement made by the national board of the Young Women's Christian Associations today. Southern white women as well as those from the North will serve on the committee.

Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who is interested in educational work among colored folks through the General Educational Board; Mrs. John Hanna, of Dallas, Tex., and Mrs. Beverly B. Mumford, of Richmond, Va., who represent the Young Women's Christian Association on the Southern Interracial Commission, together with Mrs. Richard Ward Westbrook, of Brooklyn, are the four women actively interested in bettering the conditions for the colored race. Mrs. Westbrook is chairman of the council.

With these four women were appointed four colored women prominent in educational work among their own race. They are as follows: Mrs. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, of Sedalia, N. C.; Mrs. George W. Haynes, of Washington; Mrs. Frank L. Williams, of St. Louis, and Mrs. Ruth Logan Roberts, of this city. Miss Eva D. Bowles, who heads the work of the national board for colored girls and women, has been appointed secretary. The committee will function under the name of the council on colored work.

PLAN CO-OPERATIVE WORK

"The function of this committee is to study the history of the negro race," said Miss Bowles today, "to discuss frankly and with unbiased minds the problems of the race, to plan for better racial understanding and to bring their influence to co-operate with all agencies and individuals to bring this about."

Speaking of the committee members who represent her race Miss Bowles said that Mrs. Haynes is the wife of George E. Haynes, secretary of the commission of interracial co-operation of the Federal Council of Churches. Mrs. Haynes inaugurated the first Y. W. C. A. among colored students.

"Mrs. Williams, who is a member of our field committee on colored work in seven Southern States, including Louisiana and Mississippi, has been active in our local work for the past ten years," said Miss Bowles. "Mrs. Roberts, who works with the various social agencies here in this city, is also active in association work. She is the

daughter of the treasurer of Tuskegee Institute and was reared there. Among the leading negroes in Virginia Mrs. Brown is widely known for her educational work."

GOOD WAR RECORD

The national board for colored girls and women, which offers an extensive programme for their education and physical development, gained wide recognition during the war. Thirty-seven centers, with a staff of 112 college-trained colored leaders, are maintained.

THE NEGRO IN FICTION

SAN FRANCISCO TRIBUNE OF COMMERCE
APRIL 9, 1922

"The Birthright" Solves No Problem but Subtly Presents a Case—"American Portraits"

By JOSEPHINE BARTLETT

A REALLY remarkable American novel is T. B. Stribling's "Birthright."

It is said that when Wells visited this country he was amazed that no American writer had undertaken to record the struggle of the negro in America. The reason, until now, has been that, as a nation, we had not yet passed the emotional danger zone that radiates from any conflict for many years after its close.

That that zone would seem to have been passed now is pretty well evidenced by the fact that the novel of the negro has been written.

With complete fairness, without sentimentality or exaggeration, Stribling has portrayed the negro in every stratum of his life among us, from the superstition-ridden black to the educated mulatto who, however high his ideals and aspirations, is still hounded by his heritage of pigmentation.

Peter Siner, educated at a northern college, returns to Hooker's Bend, an alien among his own people. As Cissie, his sweetheart, has accused him, he has come back "with a new code."

Fired with the aspiration to lift his black brothers out of the slough of indolence and dishonesty, Peter starts to work among them. But he is battling against the slow course of evolution itself.

In the end even Peter makes a characteristic racial compromise. He marries Cissie and takes her away, even though he knows that the child she is bearing is not his. But Peter's act and impulse have not sprung from ignorance; he has applied the learning he imbibed at Harvard to his own position and that of his people; he has learned that nature does not exact the same obeisance in morals from all races alike. And the principal thing that he has learned is that he came out of college as he went into it—a negro.

It is an absorbingly interesting story, finely written. No one, whatever his fetiches of tradition, either genuine or assumed, can quarrel with Stribling's complete honesty. He has no impossible palliative to offer; he would offend neither the racial nor the intellectual integrity of the white people all he asks is an unemotional, even-handed justice.

"Birthright." By T. B. Stribling. (The Century Company, New York city.)

CHICAGO ICE BLADE
JUNE 3, 1922

NEGROES DREAM OF WORLD DOMINION

BY PROF. JOHN C. ADAMS

"FOUR HUNDRED MILLION Negroes Organizing for World Power."

That is a headline quoted from a negro paper published in the United States. In the article under that headline appeared a dozen threats against the white man. Let us quote here a few of these statements:

The German no longer thinks of the Frenchman, neither the Frenchman thinks of the Englishman in terms of racial self-preservation, so that it is advisable that four hundred million negroes start now to think that their interest is natural to them and should be sought after, irrespective of any other human claim or tie.

In previous articles I emphasized the fact that colored bloods are watching the white race for a favorable time in which to challenge its supremacy. This evidence, right here at home, clearly shows that the colored bloods are counting on the white man to work his own undoing.

If Germany fights France, if there is bad blood between France and England, if the various governmental families of the white race will fight each other, the time will come when the black, the yellow, the brown or the red man will feel that he can strike at white civilization and crush it. The above statement quoted from the negro paper clearly indicates that here in the United States,



"All He Ever Learned Was to Construct a Rude Shelter of Bark and Grass Sufficient to Shield His Head From the Beating Rays of a Tropical Sun."

where more has been done for the negro than in any other country, the blacks are watching for a chance to strike, dreaming of world dominion.

Here is another quotation from the negro paper:

"The program must be put over, that of emancipating the race everywhere industrially, commercially, socially, religiously, educationally and politically, and above all freeing our Motherland Africa from the grip of the alien tyrant. This work . . . must be started now, and, if possible, accomplished in another few years."

Farther on in the article the negro paper says:

"What must come? The freedom of Africa and four hundred million negroes everywhere. . . . Negroes have built up the great British Empire, negroes have built up French Imperialism, negroes have fought for the stabilization of Italy, they have fought for the aggrandizement of Germany, they have fought to build nations and empires everywhere for others. Negroes are prepared now to fight, if needs be, to build up an African Empire of their own."

With his own people in Africa living as the animals of the jungles, practicing cannibalism, and, in some particulars, less intelligent and less humane than the apes, the American negro with that little learning which is a dangerous thing, does not hesitate to denounce the white man's civilization, which, whatever else it may have done for or to him, has raised him out of savagery. Here

s the negroes' appraisal of this civilization as it appears in the negro newspaper in question:

"The civilization of today is bankrupt, it is no good, it is but the reign of cannibalism, a reign of savagery. Can it last? If it lasts another century then there will be no more world, and four hundred negroes cannot allow man to ruin his brother without making an effort to save him."

Like all madmen who aspire to world dominion the negroes who are agitating revolt against white civilization, tell their black fellows that God is with them and that God will see that they win. Of course, the German Kaiser is the last conspicuous example proving that God can't be relied upon in these dreams for world power.

All of this would be very funny if the race question in the United States were less acute. The foregoing quotations clearly indicate that our race problem in the United States has an international phase. The propaganda for revolt of the black savages in Africa is being spread from this country. Some negroes in the United States understand the strength of numbers. They understand, too, that a black race and a white race cannot live in the same country, side by side, on equal terms; that one or the other will dominate and, naturally, the so-called "smart negro" aspires to dominate. He proposed to take advantage of the numerical strength of the black race in its most favorable environment, Africa, and, starting there with power, resist and conquer the white nations of the world.

Personally, I feel that the danger of a Black Empire built in Africa by negroes, is not the real danger. The negro has not the capacity to build that empire. The real danger is in the negro's ability to corrupt white blood. I think that the Hon. John E. Rankin, in his address in Congress last January, correctly pictured the incapacity of the blacks when he said:

"What has the negro done for himself or for civilization to entitle him to equality with the white race? The only civilization he has imbibed was that imposed upon him by the white people of the South thru the unfortunate institution of slavery—unfortunate for the white man; fortunate for the negro."

"For tens of thousands of years he roamed at will over the continent of Africa, the richest country of all the world, feasting upon his fellow man, and never even developed the art of agriculture to the extent of making his living out of the ground."

"For countless ages he trod the sands of his native soil with diamonds beneath his feet and never dreamed of the theory of value."

"HE SAW THE DAWN OF CIVILIZATION AND WATCHED THE PAGEANT OF THE CENTURIES PASS WITHOUT SO MUCH AS MANIFESTING A DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PROGRESS."

"He bowed beneath his master's whip at the building of the pyramids and watched succeeding civilizations rise and fall, and ALL HE EVER LEARNED WAS TO CONSTRUCT A RUDE SHEL-

TER OF BARK AND GRASS SUFFICIENT TO SHIELD HIS HEAD FROM THE BEATING RAYS OF TROPICAL SUN.

POPULATION OF THE WORLD.

Colored Population	Red	50,000,000
	Black	150,000,000
	Yellow	500,000,000
	Brown	450,000,000
	Mixed	50,000,000

Total Colored Population 1,200,000,000
White Population..... 550,000,000

Total Population.....1,750,000,000

FICIENT TO SHIELD HIS HEAD FROM THE BEATING RAYS OF TROPICAL SUN.

"HE REMAINED IN HIS SAVAGERY STATE UNTIL HE WAS BROUGHT TO OUR SHORES AND SHOWN THE LIGHT OF CIVILIZATION THRU THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY—the worst curse that ever befell the South, and the greatest blessing the negro has ever known."

It is, I believe, true that if the negro had not been brought to the United States as slaves, they would not today be croaking about world power and aspiring to social and political equality with the whites, and if they were returned to Africa and left to their own sweet ways the "smart" negro would vanish with this generation and the next generation would find the race turning back to the savagery of jungle life, living on the line of least resistance.

But the real danger, especially in the United States, is the danger of intermixing of bloods. Tho we may doubt the negro's ability to build a civilization we know that he can destroy one if he can reduce the builders to the status of a mongrel race.

Our first race problem in the United States is to draw a hard and fast line between blacks and whites. Not only should every State in the Union have laws against intermarriage of black and whites, but the black and tan resorts ought to be ruthlessly stamped out. We ought to have done with the heresy of "equality" for negroes, and segregation of the races ought to be carried thru every activity. It ought to begin in the schools and be continued to the cemetery



were taking their own reckless, irresponsible fomenters of misinformed public opinion in hand and make these men know that in patriotic and enlightened communities "it isn't done." Our protests mean little to such Prussianized characters, but they might pay some attention to the counsel and protest of determined white men.

"He Saw the Dawn of Civilization and Watched the Pageant of the Centuries Pass Without So Much as Manifesting a Desire to Participate in the Progress."

WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY? OUR neighbor, the Chicago Tribune, has broken loose again on the race question. We suspect that some good brother must have rubbed the fur of the military gentlemen editors the wrong way during our recent hot spell. Or, more likely, this is the usual smoke screen in advance of the coming elections. To begin with, this paper attempted to make a race riot out of an ordinary dispute in Lincoln park between some of the brethren and two roughneck chaps, who, according to their conduct and names, need the attention of some of the local Americanization societies. As proof of the bias of the Tribune—it is too effi-

cient a paper to make mistakes on a matter of this kind—when the trouble was aired in court the next day the two white aggressors were fined \$100 each and the brother released. No one unfamiliar with the Tribune tactics would have looked for such an outcome after reading the Tribune story, which put all the onus on us. Then follows a long article on the increasing population of our folks on the West Side and an editorial prophesying dire things if this situation is not handled. "If anything happens to make the world question our civilization again," who will be responsible? A good share of the responsibility can be laid at the door of these editors, who ought to have more intelligence and sense of fair play than to exaggerate and distort ordinary situations into racial struggles. Nearly every serious clash we have had has been heralded by some excitable white editor who calls his opinions news and refuses to take the responsibility for lighting the fuse as well as for building up a powder magazine. It is time that white men



A. L. Jackson

attention of some of the local Americanization societies. As proof of the bias of the Tribune—it is too effi-

HURRAH FOR SENATOR McCALLUM

MOVE TO HELP NEGROES TO FORM A NATION

N.Y. Negro World
Work of Universal Negro Improvement Assn. Bearing Fruit

2/11/22

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 31.—Senator McCallum today introduced in the State Senate in session here a concurrent resolution providing for the Legislature of Mississippi to memorialize the President of the United States and the National Congress to secure by treaty, by purchase or other negotiation sufficient territory in Africa to make a suitable and final home for the American Negro, where, under the tutelage of the American Government, he can develop for himself a great republic, to become in time a free and sovereign state and take its place at the council board of the nations of the world.

Senator McCallum proposes to use such part of the allied war debt as may be necessary to acquire such territorial possessions to the end that America shall become a nation of one blood, as it is in spirit, and, as he says, "To give the American Negro opportunity for the development of racial rights under the most advantageous circumstances."

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—That this resolution is the direct outgrowth of the propaganda of the Universal Negro Improvement Association is conceded by the harshest critics of the philosophy of the Garvey movement. With President Harding's famous Birmingham speech, as every one knows, the Negro World is in hearty accord. The President, as he so ably puts it, is ready to champion the industrial and political rights of the Negro. Senator McCallum, with the vision of a statesman, proposes to put in practice the thing Mr. Harding believes in and approves of—the thing Marcus Garvey has been fighting and agitating for the last seven years—an independent Negro government in Africa. Mississippian cohorts of the U. N. I. A. back Senator McCallum's resolution up with your support. Petition the Legislature, your Representatives in it, and make sure that it goes through. Don't let this opportunity go by to do your bit toward the establishment of an independent Negro Nation.—E. D. W.]

Civilization Has Proved Unworthy of Science's Rich Benefits, Says Prof. Petrie

Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie, in an Article on "The Outlook for Civilization," in the Yale Review.

A GREAT factor at present is in the moral, rather than the national, effects of the war. We may recover from its material damage in a generation; we may never recover from its moral changes. The good it did is buried with its bones, the ill lives after it.

The united frame of mind, the zeal for saving waste, we fondly hoped would last; but they have vanished like smoke. The evils of the war abroad were its training of the younger men to a reckless use of material, a dependence on the Government provision and a loss of the habits of responsibility and independence.

The evil effect at home was the demoralization of absurdly high wages, encouraging extravagance and causing enormous friction when the real values again prevailed. Even after two years of the bitter experience that a high wage often means no work, the spell is scarcely broken.

FORCE VS. FORCE.

Another great change is in the sense of security. The frame of mind in which we had lived was shattered at the bombardment of Rheims Cathedral. That act was the symbol which compelled us to the agony of realizing that there was nothing but brute force between us and destruction.

The acts of real war might be set down as unavoidable, or at least slurred over in apprehension; but the destruction of a nation's masterpiece in art and history left no security for the mind as well as the body. This was reinforced by the bombs on St. Apollinare and on Greenwich Observatory.

The sense of real values was the basis of our thought and feeling; material accidents might be looked on as wear and tear of the world. But to wipe out what was a mental basis behind the chances of the

world, left nothing unassailable.

All was at stake: The wish for a tranquil clinging to old feelings, old family possessions, and history; the aim at continuous growth of institutions; the view of action as building up a fabric of thought and society for the future. The denial of any common basis of right or human crushes the mind, as the devil and his agents know. The bomb on Rheims was the symbol that compelled us to acknowledge that force was the master of mind, and that mind as we knew it must be saved by force, if at all.

BENEFITS USED WRONGLY.

A very serious condition of the last century has been that knowledge has outstripped the moral sense. The greatly increased powers over nature have not been used with corresponding growth of control and sense of responsibility. The gains of mechanics and chemistry, of movement in air and in water, have been most actively developed for destruction.

In general, the cinema has been exploited rather to degrade our lives than to confer any real benefit. The right use of our opportunities has been dwarfed by their wrong use.

The questions which arise from the fact that knowledge is growing faster than the moral sense, and of how to use knowledge, are almost insoluble. Yet they threaten all civilization. This is mainly a new difficulty; it was no doubt felt at an earlier time when the invention of bronze and then iron so largely helped destructiveness. Yet no one could put back the use of metals, and now no one can put back the use of explosives and chemical gases, and the development of electricity, however much damage may be thus done.

COLORED RACES' RIVALRY.

Recently there have been many shuddering glances at the possible rivalry of the black races with Europe, or of Islam. There may be risks of destruction by violence from those sources, if Europe is foolish enough to wreck itself internally; but it does not seem likely that either of these groups could beat the brain power of

Europe.

Islam, at least in its present form, has too great a drain on its growth of mind in the memorizing of the Koran mechanically. This atrophies the reasoning power, and the type of this sacred book does not favor clear or logical thinking. Of the principal sacred books the Koran is below others in its lack of system, its wandering, casual changes of subject, and its sameness of ideas. It is the product of a people shifting about continually in an arid country.

OUR COPIED RELIGION.

The Mahabharata, for example, is far above it in vigor of thought, continuity and development of character in its persons. It is most nearly on the level of the Iliad in its structure. Many passages of the Vedas show even more moral beauty and delicate perception. The sacred books of China may rank higher in thought, and the logical basis of principles with which to fortify the resolutions; but to other races more personality would appeal more strongly.

The Jew has transcended them all in the Bible, whether in simple magnificence of narrative, vigor of composition, the moral earnestness of the Prophets, or the spiritual vision of the Apostles. Where we Western Gentiles stand in the production of religious literature it is hard to see, for we have done nothing but copy.

The type of ideals shown by what is revered suggests that Islam will never surpass the activities of India, China or Jewry. The great intolerance of Mohammedanism, and the lower position accorded in law and practice to women, will always be a bar to its surpassing in civilization the races of other creeds that have been named.

The negro would require ages of a different climate to transmute the superabundant vitality which he needed to combat the African climate into the brain power available in favorable climates. Picked individuals of fine character show what the race may be when conditions have changed it; but it could not oust the trained Europeans except after a general wreckage.

THE FUTURE RACE.

If we were able to mould the future, the reasonable course would be to look around for a race which would best counteract the deficiencies of ourselves, and to favor a mixture in isolation.

We need to remedy the unrest and excitability of the present population by producing a more stolid and hard-working people; to counteract the lack of security by a sense of permanence and commercial morality; to hinder the

prevalent waste by the development of a frugal and saving habit; to keep our knowledge to its right uses by a peace loving people who do not glorify fighting; to turn our intellectual frivolity into a love of solid reading and literature.

We need a race-less sensitive in nerves, though not less perceptive in thought; and, above all, it must be a race which commands the respect and affection of those who have lived among it and know it best. I leave it to the reader to think what cultivated race of the present world would fulfill these conditions.

Education Turns Race Red—Tribune

Dips Meddlesome Hand Into Mess of Color and Radicalism

Chicago Defender

[Editorial, Chicago Tribune]
When the American Negro novelist and social philosopher DuBois, whose writings came to the attention of Chicago whites as

the result of a Negro outbreak of fanaticism on the South Side, resulting in murder, was in France as a delegate to the Pan-African Congress, he found that the French attitude toward the African blacks was injurious in one respect. It granted the Negro social, political and mental equality, but it insisted upon capitalism.

The French accepted the equality of black and white, but they did not want the blacks to be red. They

trained intelligent Senegalese so in capitalism that between a black man of social standing and a white man of social standing there was no difference of opinion regarding property rights.

To DuBois this was an injustice to Negro traditions. In Africa the black understood communism, the common ownership and use of resources. The black had found one powerful friend among the whites, the French. Under the French a black nation was being created in Senegal. Senegal, given

equality, accepts as one item of government is in the racial antipathy engendered by the spreading of such false alarms. The French white youth and the Senegal black youth go to the military authorities on arriving at military age and are taken into active service. This is one of the means by which La France Noire is being created. When a black boy from Senegal has been through the same military training as a white boy from Normandy he is a soldier, a military Frenchman, and he has the same standing in Paris that he would have among his own people in Africa.

Economic Distinctions

All this is good, according to DuBois, but it is bad that along with these social recognitions should come the development of capitalism, which although it denied race distinctions should impose economic ones.

When H. G. Wells went to the radical Negro Club in Washington and met the intelligencia, including DuBois, he found this thought permeating the American Negro opinion. A young man, commenting upon the Senegal situation, asked Mr. Wells, "Why not a black Napoleon?" Mr. Wells, who as an international chameleon is as good a white Englishman as ever drew breath, thought that the young man lacked something in the way of manners supposed to prevail in America.

Rouge et noir is the American Negro idea, and it is the idea which is being spread as widely as it can be, to the consternation of American Negro conservatives. France recognizes the artistic, mental, social, military and political equalities and inequalities of her black citizens.

This is not enough for our own Negro intellectuals.

"Lafayette—and Lenin—we are here."

The Chicago Tribune is a powerful factor in the accomplishment of anything it undertakes, not only because it is so big, but also because its writers, "wise and otherwise," are so "tarnal clever. Under the caption "Rouge et Noir," or "Red and Black," to write in plainer terms, it has undertaken in an editorial, here reproduced, to start something.

Launching a frontal attack upon Mr. DuBois, it charges that when we become educated we become "red," that our so-called intelligencia or intellectuals rail against the propriety of the present system of things. Terms such as capitalism and communism are used and, so the Tribune has taken Dr. DuBois to infer, the latter term is understood by the natives in Africa, which proves that in one respect at least these natives excel our common citizenry.

Sinister Implications

Whether the writers of such opinions mean it or not, there can be but one result from such sinister implications—the creation of a general sentiment to the effect that one of us, educated, is an anarchist. Such ideas are more Chicago bombs. Given enough time they will explode, to the ruin of our already tattered social fabric. Their dissemination is dangerous, criminal work. To declare to the world that we are a growing and powerful force working for ill-advised destruction is to throw a challenge to the white races, to put them on their guard against a phantom army, and to give such "reds" as we may have a dirty sor-

of inspiration. The true menace to government is in the racial antipathy engendered by the spreading of such false alarms.

For the Tribune knows that it has written one thing and meant another. It is the Tribune's concern to protect the interests in which it is invested, and those interests are capitalist. We, being workers and numerous, are a danger to capitalism. To have us linked up formidably with any strong anti-capitalistic organization would force consideration which capital at present tries not to think about. But it would do no good to say that we fight the money interests. Such a stand by the Tribune would lower its allegedly high ethical standards. It will deny that it fights for those who have money, and in court would make it impossible for you to prove that point. So it screams, "Educate them and they'll wreck America!" That strikes home. And the rich man will laugh while the poor man, the working man who should be our friend, prepares to check our attack on Washington. It is all a beautiful lie!

"Why not a black Napoleon?" Wells was asked. Tribune writers easily slipped in lines to the effect that the questioner was not courteous. As a matter of fact, according to J. LeCount Chestnut our Washington correspondent, the insinuation was altogether unjust. The young man was courteous but not cringing. And as for a black Napoleon—we ourselves ask, why not?

History Repeats Itself.

Commercial Appeal

It may not be all a European scheme which is involved in the proposal embraced in the resolution offered in the Legislature of Mississippi by Senator McCallum, to "memorialize the president of the United States and the national Congress to secure by treaty, by purchase or other negotiation sufficient territory in Africa to make a suitable and final home for the American negro, where, under the tutelage of the American government, he can develop for himself a great republic, to become in time a free and sovereign state and take its place at the council board of the nations of the world."

The bringing of the negro to America as a slave created a problem which has almost from the beginning presented the greatest difficulties. Jefferson wrote: "This momentous question, like a firebell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once the knell of the union." And in his excellent "Life of James Monroe," just published, George Morgan has this to say: "We take on prejudices easily while in this mortal clay; and no historical misjudgment is so common as the off-hand condemnation of slave-state statesmen."

"The very fact that they came thence

is deemed sufficient warrant to neglect them or minimize whatever merits they may be grudgingly allowed.

This is not only unfair to them, but perverts history, injecting bias where truth should be. Many of these men—notably Jefferson, Madison and Monroe—labored as best they could, not only to prevent the extension of slavery, but to rid the country of it."

Monroe wished to return the negroes to their home in Africa; and Liberia, with Monrovia as its capital, is said to be the only colony founded by the United States. The National Colonization Society was organized in 1816, with Judge Bushrod Washington, of the supreme court, as its first president. "Many of its members," says Morgan, "lived in the south; and they laid the flattering unction to their souls that the blacks could be deported to the region from which they had come, taking with them what they had learned and founding there a free and happy commonwealth."

"They were idealists, with troubled consciences. As yet they were unhectored; and their generous feeling was spontaneous. The animating thought was to bring about emancipation, with economic or political violence." But this could not be; the womb of fate was big with troubles the end of which no man can see. The new colony was not a success. Fostered by our government and recognized by others, the black republic had in 1882 18,000 civilized negroes, most of whom were of American origin, and more than a million natives in its population.

Following the Civil War, various schemes of colonization were mooted, but the wholesale return of the negroes to Africa was abandoned as being an impossibility on account of their growth in numbers; but our recent experience in transporting vast numbers of troops to Europe has revealed the possibility of doing what was once regarded as impossible. But a far greater difficulty confronts those who may join the Mississippi statesman in his well-meant endeavor to find a solution for our great American problem—the consent of the negroes must first be gained. Within the past half century the race has developed numbers of men of ability, and education is being rapidly diffused among them. It is quite likely that under such leadership as they now possess they could make a success of government where it formerly failed; and their new environment, occupying a continent under development by European races, would stimulate their emulation on every hand. But the chief reason for their not going to Africa is that we need them in the south, and they are better off here than they would be in Congo or any other African region.



Dr. DuBois

Race Problem - 1922

United States

THE SOUTH'S MEANING OF SOCIAL EQUALITY

Richmond Virginia Planet

REV. W. B. REED'S GREAT EMANCIPATION ADDRESS—DISCUSSES PRESENT DAY ISSUES IN MASTERLY ORATION.

2/11/22

Delivered at Shiloh Baptist Church, Hartford, Connecticut, at Emancipation Proclamation Celebration, January 2nd, 1922, (Noon)

Ladies and Gentlemen:—

We are met today to commemorate not only the greatest moral victory in the life of our nation, but the greatest of any nation since depravity-lifted bigots to leadership among the divisions of men from whose decisions no appeal could be effectively made save through blood. I believe the day will come when our nation will cease to lag behind the civil nations of earth in recognition of the great triumph of righteousness 69 years ago and will take the lead in proclaiming it one of the great victories of Christian civilization since God drew the line between right and wrong.

It is generally conceded that American slavery was one of the blackest crimes ever infested any nation; men were born to cruel servitude, bloody lash and the auction block; women were born victims to rapers, forced immorality, eternal severance of children, the witnessing of the lash cracking the skin, of husband and to a life of torture and shame. When the pillars of this system were cracked by moral warfare of good people backed by armed forces of a brave nation, the scandal had to be atoned for in blood and the scavenger lost his sword; the victory at once became one of the greatest moral triumphs of human history and Lincoln fell heir to the ages.

THE SOUTH'S MEANING

I am to speak today on: "The South's meaning of social equality." I cannot give a comprehensive exegesis on this false doctrine in a limited address; will have to be brief on points taken up, and necessarily leave untouched many things of paramount interest. I am not to speak on "Social Equality," for that is a private matter of individuals, as to whom they consider socially endowed to enjoy the felicities of their homes and private functions, and no law can rightfully function in the private choice of law-abiding individuals who make choice of other individuals as their social friends and comrades. But I am to point out some of the things the South means by para-

name of Flood who was the father of his grandchild. That was common. Thousands of people now living can tell how these southern gentlemen tied slaves to trees and beat them into unconsciousness for being non-submissive to beastly passion.

The things told at this late day are not printable, but they still keep up the cry of white women living in perpetual fear, which statement has no foundation in fact. Some two weeks ago when the Anti-Lynching Bill came up in the House, C. H. Garret of Tennessee said the bill should be "Entitled a bill to encourage rape." With three million mulattoes in this country the world evidently knows the white men of the South need no Federal encouragement along this line.

VISIBLE SIGNS OF DISTRESS

In spite of the large majority of whites in the South, they implore northern politicians with visible signs of distress to protect them from "Domination." They sent their best fiction painters North to show up the Colored man as a dragon craving to destroy white women and ruin white men, and squander the people's money; then too, they were ignorant and unprepared for the ballot but when they are prepared the South had no objection. Thousands upon thousands fell speechless before their enchantment, and decided to wait on education; but while they waited the South was pushing her "Social Equality" false doctrine to the farthest lines of our land.

I do not need to say that the South won over many of our friends.

First, they were talked into silence, then into the dangerous position of laying hands off, and to acquiesce in the log rolling of our rights into a new form of slavery.

With all the talk the South has put up about our not being prepared for the ballot, at heart she has never wanted the Colored people educated; the old guard claims to this happy day, that education spoils the "nigger as a farm hand." Their unfairness in the entire educational system of the South toward the Colored people is sufficient answer for the present to this charge.

BUT LITTLE DONE

It is a universal fact that the South has done a precious little for the higher education of the colored youth on the ground that it inspires them for social equality. Armies of crackers in the South believe this to be the case, because they have been taught it for generations. Of course, veracity is a thing without value in southern propaganda. Ex-Senator Bailey of Texas says academic training spoils a "nigger" and proves it by saying when he comes from college, and has some business with a white man instead of com-

ing through the back yard to the back door with hat in hand, he comes to the front door and rings the bell. As the South holds that this on the part of a Colored man, is seeking social equality Senator Bailey's deduction is that, college training has ruined that "Nigger's" good manners; and we need not say such a statement as this in any political campaign in any southern state is worth more to the candidate than any sensible argument on tariff or governmental justice, he might make.

MISREPRESENTING FACTS

It is not because Senator Bailey and other southerners of learning do not know better; men of this caliber know they are misrepresenting facts, for Senator Bailey would have been another man if he had been denied the blessings of education; but they say it by force of circumstances; they shoot out this kind of tomfoolery to play to the gallery and court the plaudits of devotees of a false theory in ferment for three hundred years.

They find themselves as it were in quicksand, but they are not willing to be rescued, unless the Colored people are left there at their mercy; they find themselves backward in national progress, but they are not willing to be helped forward unless the Colored people are left behind a kind of adjunct to the worst lawbreakers and the most bloody criminals in all civilization, but they are not willing to be reformed if the reformation means the blessings of freedom to the Colored people. Thus they live on in the foul gush of their forbears.

CLOSING SCHOOLS IN THE NORTH

Wherever the South has been able to close schools of higher learning against us in the North, she has not spared to means or sacrifice. It was not the pro-American soil and in its territorial ple directly of Canterbury, Conn. eight years ago who brought dishonor on themselves, the State and them on foreign soil and at the same time Union when Miss Prudence Crandall was pelted with eggs, boycotted, persecuted, sued and imprisoned; they were victims of this same false theory of a southern statesman who had supplied the North with vision and understanding concerning things racial; and when Miss Crandall opened her school of advanced training to "Young ladies and little misses of color," the well organized South objected through the people of Canterbury who had allowed themselves to become the actors of southern thought.

When the minds of the people of Canterbury were opened to reason, of better men they saw that they had been doped by southern schemers, and it is written that Canterbury "Became the strongest anti-slavery part of the

State." Though Miss Crandall's school was demolished, set afire, the heroine thrust into prison, the cause she espoused did not go down, her memory is sacred her name fixed in history and her deeds immortalized. And may we cherish the hope that a fitting monument may yet stand in Canterbury to her memory; a silent acclaim to the South that her power is broken and "Ladies and little misses of color" are musing with poets of other times upon a thousand hills.

And the young men and women coming from these institutions are pledging themselves to complete the unfinished task of Appomattox, to bridge over the blunders of the Reconstruction, and to meet the enemies of our freedom as man meets man and fight out our common destiny on the soil our blood helped to sanctify from our first battle ground to the trebling hills of Europe.

THE SOCIAL EQUALITY

PROPAGANDA.

This social equality propaganda is a studied scheme, and is thrust like a serpent's tooth into every phase of our freedom, to humiliate, discourage and cover our spirit; and they want us to bring up our children under this heil born propaganda without a protest. The Jim Crow car is the answer to the call of these false prophets of democracy; we must separate them on the trains or they will seek social equality. So they have given a dual system of psychology to the colored man; he must believe God's plan of universal brotherhood and at the same time believe the contradiction of it by the southern white man; he must believe it is wrong for Germany to deny the American white people the freedom of the seas and at the same time believe it is right for the American white man to deny us the freedom of travel on means or sacrifice. It was not the pro-American soil and in its territorial ple directly of Canterbury, Conn. eight years ago who brought dishonor on themselves, the State and them on foreign soil and at the same time Union when Miss Prudence Crandall was pelted with eggs, boycotted, persecuted, sued and imprisoned; they were victims of this same false theory of a southern statesman who had supplied the North with vision and understanding concerning things racial; and when Miss Crandall opened her school of advanced training to "Young ladies and little misses of color," the well organized South objected through the people of Canterbury who had allowed themselves to become the actors of southern thought.

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THE DISGRACE OF THE

COUNTRY

The Jim Crow car is a disgrace to our country and a serious reflection on the white man's expressed belief in

the teachings of Christ and his boasted faith in the Christian Religion. A box of off part of a car, filthy, uncleaned, unsanitary and usually crowded with men and women standing for lack of seats, while full clean coaches, Pullman and observation cars are provided for whites, native and foreign born who pay no more for tickets than the colored people are demanded to pay: We want no Jim Crow cars in this country we want the freedom to travel as others have. If this is social equality we want it.

This social equality propaganda denies the colored man freedom of speech in the South. Outside the large cities like Richmond, Norfolk, Atlanta and Louisville and possibly a few others, colored editors have to be very careful how they touch certain sins of white men; and even in these large cities they cannot say all they would like to say.

Colored ministers must confine their sermons to the goodness of the Lord without even referring to the lynching which took place Saturday night, notwithstanding the bullet-riddled body was burned in the town square. In a town down in Georgia, a colored man was lynched, his body dragged through the town on Saturday and left in the center of the town over Sunday for the purpose of "Teaching the niggers a lesson." On Monday morning a colored undertaker was summoned to bury him without comment. This they say is absolutely necessary so as to make the "nigger know his place."

In Roanoke, Va., a mob went into a colored church to lynch the pastor because he said from his pulpit he did not believe a certain colored man committed the crime for which he was lynched. The pastor was not in the church, and had to leave that night to save his life. The mob went all through the church.

THE KU KLUX KLAN

Say what you may about the Ku Klux Klan but they represent the politicians of the South in sentiment and purpose, and when the mighty Simmons was summoned to meet a Congressional Committee he was defended by southern senators and congressmen and it is universally known that politicians run the South absolutely. This unspeakable Klan vests itself with the authority to censor public expression by private persons as well as to regulate the conduct of private citizens. The money making side of the Klan with fat-jobbed favorites corresponds precisely with the crookedness of southern politicians. A quotation from last week's National Republican (white) shows that the object of these two groups of the same lovable family is the same, in spirit and living in perfect harmony and peaceful fellowship one with the other:

"The baneful effects of the suppression of the spoils system which is an

on of representative government and the maintenance of a 1-party system by force, fraud and legal trickery in the Solid South, are by no means confined to political misrepresentation. The control of these States by powerful cliques of politicians interested only in the building up of office-holding machines and the distribution of spoils among themselves, has resulted in inflicting upon the people of these commonwealths government that is at once wasteful, inefficient and reactionary in spirit."

NO ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCE

We can find no essential difference in the principles of these two groups of children of the same political household and they can say in part as truly as did Jacob's sons: "We are the sons of one man," in the land of mob rule.

That there is an element of white people in the South that would like to throw off the yoke of both of these unprincipled groups is undeniable but to break a well organized ring is a most difficult thing to do. The Tiger in New York is well organized and the combined press of that great city last fall with the exception of Hearst papers could not extract one of his spoil grinding molars; the decent people of New York have not as yet found a way to unite on one common ground to smash Tammany, Thompson's ring in Chicago still lives; the rings of Pilate and Herod joined hands against the Christ.

So the Ku Klux Klan, Democratic machine and the Lily Whites are one and the present administration is losing a lot of precious time patting them on the shoulders and trying to dress them up. 14,000,000 colored people have as sacred right to fight thieves of our freedom as five million Irish had to fight England, and we are preparing for the contest as never before.

Freedom of speech in the South means the colored man may answer the white man and this must not be allowed for it would be social equality. It is considered social equality if when a white man calls a colored man a liar the colored man says you are another and a violation of this article of their faith entitles the white man to shoot down the colored man.

THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE

When we come to the ballot we come to the crux of the whole rotten thing; social equality in the highest degree and for that reason ballot box stuffers, shotguns, disfranchisers, grand father's clauses, mobs and the police have been stationed between the colored man and this coveted social equality. The North has been greatly deceived in this theory of social equality emanating through the power of the ballot box and has done us untold harm by allowing these dupes to beguile it in spite of the spoils system which is an

open book. "Doth Job fear God for naught?" was the bewailing of Satan when he wanted to put through a mean and low-down plot against the innocent. Social equality bewails the southern cheap politician and publicist when they wish to put through a low-down piece of business; their lips sing it but their heart is fixed on the spoils of office; anything white may come to Congress and draw seven thousand a year from the Federal Treasury and enjoy frank and mileage privileges, but colored citizens must not do this for that is social equality.

They cry about office holding bringing us in contact and that is social equality; but what about the millions of mulattoes, the offsprings of these howlers about social equality? It would seem that their social equality would, after all, be safer in the public than in secret. If office holding is social equality we want the fullest measure of it.

GIVE JUSTICE IN THE COURTS

Again, the ballot would give the colored people justice in the courts, they would have a say as to who is to be the judge, the sheriff, police commissioner and this means they could demand even respect and rebuttals in court; this would be social equality and for that reason it must not be. In the name of social equality they say, we take from him the ballot and he cannot demand respect or protection and we can arrest him on any pretence and sell him to a white farmer for twelve months on a promise.

Every body knows how the South magnifies the crimes of the colored people through their statesmen and editors, it's their game and the colored man is vilified on every side; to those who believe the vilification the honest and industrial among us becomes a suspect to the average passing white person. It is the fruit of political oppression for no man without a vote is free in the fullest sense, and when we look at the deeds white men in the South do in the name of white superiority it is a most difficult thing for us to understand how any fair-minded person can sanction it.

Jails in the South are not built for criminals but for colored people. In the North the jails are built for any man who violates the law and violators go there white and black the same but in the South this smacks of social equality and white men have to commit a very heinous crime even to be arrested. The average white criminal in the South would consider it a violence to the doctrine of social equality to send him to work on a gang with "niggers" matters not what crime he has committed.

FALSE DOCTRINE

It is remarkable how this false doc

trine has taken hold of so many people of the North who have not had their first lesson in southern trickery. In many places white people don't want colored people to live on nice streets perfectly willing to send missionaries to Africa or build up schools in the black belt but no charity at home so far as their immediate community is concerned. And Southern members of Congress have used the cry of social equality as a mighty weapon in Congress against our sacred rights and year after year we see northern members become passive when southerners are lying on us faster than a mule can kick.

We help to send them there but they will not defend us.

In our own State foreigners and red-headed halfbakes feel privileged to insult us in public places, many of whom refused to defend the Government in battle but insult those who did defend it. My friends the ballot must be our weapon in Connecticut, as well as in the general government. Every two years we make a trip to the Capitol to ask for a Civil Rights bill to be turned down; we come back and wait another two years.

In a close election in this State the colored people could turn it either way if we were organized. We should know every man whose influence and vote have been inimical to our interest, whether commissioner, mayor or state or national representative. We should know them.

REPUBLICANS AND THE COLORED FOLKS.

Last year when we with white friends asked the Judiciary Committee to make a favorable report on our bill the late Mr. Spooner told me that he thought every member of the Committee was a Republican, but they turned us down, knowing that if it had been favorably reported it would very likely have been made a part of the law.

Here are the names of the Committee: Senators Delaney, (Chairman,) Brown House, Chm. Mr. Buckley Union Clerk of Committee, Mr. Darbie Killingly; Law Clerk Milton C. Isbell, Ansonia. Messrs. Williamson, Darien; Sherwood, Westport; Perry, New Haven; Hall, Orange; Campbell, Enfield; Nickerson, Cornwall; Wall, Torrington; Barry, Griswold; Storrs, Ansonia.

This is the Committee that gave us the black eye and we must remember them to the extent that if any one of them comes up for office in the future we must resent their action at the ballot box. If going into places of public accommodation is social equality, then again, we want it.

Two short months ago the President of the United States went arm in arm with a southern Democrat to Birmingham to deliver himself on the race question and the world knows how well it was done. No man can say that Mr.

Harding did not have a chance to prove himself a gladiator worthy of his steel but the South had been feeding him with this false doctrine of social equality and he lost the opportunity of fulfilling his own prophecy.

Everywhere freedom of speech is a fact colored leaders have dissented from Mr. Harding's harmful course on social equality. God has never made one man greater in his creation than another; Infinite Wisdom has never cursed one of its creatures of the human race by creating him a second class man, and the colored people of this country were not prepared to hear the President of the United States commit himself as he did at Birmingham.

I went to Mr. Harding's front porch during the campaign, when the southerners were trying to destroy him and heard his words: he spoke in southern states before his election but did not commit himself on this mythical question of social equality.

NOT CURSED OF GOD

We are not cursed of God because the President says so, and as for us dividing our vote, his prayer will be answered unless he runs again and this is not likely.

The question may be appropriately asked why did Mr. Harding go to Alabama asking Democrats to "Let the black man vote when he is fit to vote. He is president of the United States and has it in his power to let the black man vote; Congress 's Republican about two to one why not ask his Congress to let us vote? If he is willing to be the big brother of the world and to disarm the warring nations of earth, why not instruct the Republicans in Congress to support the Bill of Congressman Tinkham which is meant to do the very thing Mr. Harding is asking his enemies to do? If he wants the colored people to vote in the South give orders to his Congress, and stop losing so much time with southern white-washed Democrats, for Mr. Harding and all his Cabinet will be in some other world before one Solid South State will be carried by the Republican Party without the vote of the colored people.

We want full rights unfettered and unproscribed in common with all other people; if this is social equality we want it.

Race Problem - 1922

United States.

A. M. E. Bishops Deny That Southern Negro Needs Help

Object to Tone of Welcome Address Delivered to Bishops' Council by Personal Representative of Mayor

Bishop Fountain Responds

New York Age 7/22
Says Race in New York and Other Northern Cities No Better Off Than in the South—Bishop Chappelle Speaks for South Carolina

Resentment and displeasure surged through the ranks of the southern prelates and ministers in attendance upon the seventieth assembling of the mid-summer session of the Bishops' Council of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, held at Bethel A. M. E. Church, New York City, when at the welcome reception on Thursday evening, June 22, Commissioner of Structures and Plants, Grover H. Whalen, as personal representative of Mayor John F. Hylan, welcoming the Council to the city, took occasion to boost the mayor's cause and tell of many alleged favors and considerations shown the colored people of the city by the municipal head.

The resentful feeling aroused by Commissioner Whalen's address was intensified by utterances of Ferdinand Q. Morton and other local speakers, who seemed to take their cue from the city's representative, and joined in a paean of praise of the mayor and told of the wonderful advantages offered in New York for the Negro.

Bishop Fountain Takes Issue.

This sentiment was given expression in a crystalized form by Bishop W. A. Fountain of Atlanta Ga., who responded to the address of welcome. The Georgia prelate declared with emphasis that Mayor Hylan's personal representative did not show to the Council the courtesy that Atlanta's mayor himself would have shown on a similar occasion.

"Not only would the mayor of Atlanta have come personally to deliver his welcome," said Bishop Fountain;

"he would have remained at least long enough to listen to the response which his address called forth." Continuing,

the speaker declared that New Yorkers may boast as much as they please about the status of the Negro in this and other northern cities, but that on a whole the race was no better off in one part of the country than in any other.

Although not officially programmed to make any response, Bishop W. D. Chappelle of Columbia, S. C., denounced in fiery words the welcome addresses which had been made, especially one which carried a plea that Negroes of New York be urged to do something for the poor Negroes of the South. Bishop Chappelle declared that Negroes in South Carolina did not need such assistance, and that there was no necessity for the Negroes of New York to cry for those who lived in the southern states. He emphasized the statement that he was tired of hearing such sentiments as had been expressed in the addresses made by the New Yorkers who preceded him.

The audience seemed entirely in sympathy with the sentiment expressed

by the indignant protestants and gave expression to their agreement in loud and enthusiastic applause which continued for a considerable period. This meeting was in charge of a committee of citizens of New York, with George W. Harris, Alderman from the 21st district, as chairman. Among those associated with him as members of the committee were Alderman Martin J. Healy of the 19th district, Charles W. Anderson, former Collector of Internal Revenue, Ferdinand Q. Morton, head of the Colored Tammany Democracy, and a number of other well known New York citizens.

It is interesting to note that Alderman Healy, the only white man on the committee, whose other members are prominent figures in law, medicine, business, music, theatre and social service work, is the same man who, in making a fight for a seat on the Board of Aldermen against the colored candidate for reelection, used the argument with his white constituents that a Negro should not be on the Board of Aldermen.

BIRMINGHAM ALA NEWS
JUNE 6, 1922

OVER COLOR LINE, CLAIM

White Man, Said To Have Given Negro Missive, Fined.

When A. B. DuBose, 2501 Seventh Avenue, North, is said to have handed a letter to Hattie Robinson, negro maid in a downtown physician's office Saturday afternoon, it led to the arrest of both shortly afterward and heavy sentences in police court Monday afternoon.

City Detective George Bragan chanced to be passing near the doctor's office, 109 1/2 North Twentieth Street, he testified before Judge Henry J. Martin, when he observed the white man signaling the negress in a suspicious manner, he said, and paused. The woman received the letter, Bragan stated, but walked away, DuBose following her several blocks through the business district with the officer pursuing both.

Because of crowds on the streets DuBose lost the woman in the crowd, Bragan declared. Bragan, however, soon intercepted the woman and the letter was surrendered. The woman was arrested on a charge of disorderly conduct, it was stated in court, and after her apprehension revealed that she had received a number of other letters from DuBose, the detective stated.

DuBose was fined \$100 and sentenced to 180 days in the city jail on a charge of disorderly conduct aggravated. The woman was fined \$50 and sentenced to 90 days' imprisonment.

Scales In Threatening Voice Tells Editor "Keep My Name Out of Paper" Too Big To Be Criticised—Not Too Big For Common Brawls

Louisville News 7-8-22
Figures His Stunts Will Lose Votes—It will with People Who Think

Thursday night J. H. Scales called the editor of The News over the phone and said, "Don't put my name in your paper again." The editor replied, "I heard what you said. Scales said, "I don't want to see my name in your paper again, you understand." The editor again replied, "I heard what you said." This is the whole conversation.

Here's a pretty picture: A man goes on a rampage to another man's place—a newspaper man—and without excuse or cause or reason threatens him and hurls all kinds of profane, vulgar and insulting epithets at him. The bad man departs and he must not be spoken of, he must not be written of. That is a pretty picture. But it doesn't go here. Scales has played his part. It is left entirely to the editor of The News whether it will ever be mentioned in these columns again. Surely, no threats of Scales will keep it out.

Negro apologists may try to excuse the outrage, but no amount of talk will wipe away the fact that this man came to The News office, purely feeling he was a white man and the editor was a black man, and as such had no rights of free speech or independent thought which are the due of all Americans.

"Personal matter"—bosh. This paper never carried the name of Scales. This editor never in his life ever had a cross word with Scales. Nothing has ever been said to or about Scales by the editor of this paper that was personal to him. There is absolutely no point of personal contact between the two. How, then, can anybody defend Scales' action?

A blind jackass can see this man has a misconception of his own rights and the rights of others. This paper has always kept in the province of newspaper criticism when it has criticised men or measures or parties. When it departs therefrom the remedy is to be found in the courts and NO MAN OR SET OF MEN can dictate what shall go in or what must stay out and least of all by threats and hints. This outrage is not a personal matter, it is not a small matter, and this paper will not let it drag into a personal matter as regards discussion. We intend to keep it before the eyes of intelligent, thoughtful people that there is a widespread disposition on the part of certain members of the Republican party to disregard the Negro in patronage, in respect and in consideration, and yet keep his vote at election time. That is to be done by browbeating and threatening and possibly, in desperate cases, in injuring any Negro who opposes the lily-white and anti-Negro spirit of the party. Scales inflicted the outrage. The News will use it whenever it pleases. Publicity is given Scales message to keep his name out of this paper so that whatever the future may bring forth colored people can know the beginning.

If any Negro sees aught but slavery in this affair, he is beyond hope and redemption.

Any Negro who says this is a personal matter between Scales and Warley is a fool.

GOING OFF HALF COCKED!

A news item from Beaumont states that as soon as it was charged that a colored man had committed a murder in that community, the colored brethren of the Ministerial Alliance passed resolutions deploring the crime and condemning the culprit.

They went off half-cocked, for several arrests have been made and several suspects are being held, but, according to newspaper reports, none of the race men come up to the descriptions of the alleged assailant.

The open season for "resolving" and "whereasing" is upon us and since this seems to be our forte, we guess those excited Oil City ministers are running true to form.

But our people, and especially our leaders, should stop this practice of flying into print with "resolutions" every time a colored man is charged with committing a heinous offense.

It does not help matters one bit, but often is simply pouring oil on a smouldering fire which often develops in a terrible conflagration and gains such force that communities are laid waste and devastated.

It matters not what kind of a brutal and barbaric crime is perpetrated upon the colored race, no white ministerial alliance ever "deplores" the incident, to say nothing of "denouncing" the culprit, not even the burning of human beings at the stake on public squares and in front of churches.

The world knows that the colored man condones and commits no more crimes than any other racial group, then why the necessity of this publicity stunt of "resolving."

We ought to stop trying to deceive and mislead the white people, for they are not fools and they readily see into this game.

Crime began in the days of Cain and Abel and until the cause for its existence is removed, it is going to continue in its many manifestations and ramifications.

Being black does not render a man a more vicious and brutal criminal than being red, yellow, brown or white.

Many of our ministerial leaders mean well in such matters, but their actions are misinterpreted and misunderstood and instead of helping the situation they aggravate and intensify it.

If less were said and still less published when these atrocious and revolting crimes are committed, there would probably be fewer miscarriages of justice.

We are too prone (especially some of our leaders) to get all excited and work ourselves into a frenzy at the least happening or disturbance.

Our intentions may be good, but our actions are often ill-timed, imprudent and confusing and the results too often disastrous.

Let our ministers preach more to our people how to live good lives on earth and stop painting so many pictures about "shouting" all over God's heaven, wearing the golden slippers and the starry crown.

Let them get down to things terrestrial more and things celestial

less and then they will not have so much time to "resolve" every time the wind blows or a horn toots.

As a people we do more to condemn and convict our own people than those of other races, for as soon as a colored man is arrested for some crime we begin to tell how he did it and what will be done to him, and such rot.

Finally, brethren, it proves your capacity for leadership when you know when, how and where to speak and upon what occasions to keep silent. Stop making monkeys and asses out of yourselves by attempting to decry imaginary and mythical situations.

INFORMER EDITOR LOSES FIGHT FOR NEW TRIAL IN COUNTY COURT; SINISTER INFLUENCES ACTIVE

C. F. Richardson, editor-publisher of The Houston Informer who was fined \$100 and cost in the corporation court on two charges, operating car without tail-light and using abusive language to officer, and who appealed his cases to the county court at-law and was fined \$1 and \$100 and cost in the cases, respectively, lost out last Friday when the court overruled his attorney's motion for a new trial. He paid the fines, which amounted to \$207.05, which stand perhaps as the heaviest penalty ever imposed upon a person in Texas for such a petty offense.

At both trials several reputable and reliable citizens, all of whom were present at the garage where the alleged abuse occurred, testified that Editor Richardson did not abuse nor swear at the officer, but that the officer entered the garage cursing and threatening the editor's life and endeavored to raise a "rough house." One witness testified that the officer entered the garage waving and flourishing "his revolver like a desperado in the wild west picture shows."

Even the colored pimp and stool-pigeon used by the prosecution admitted on the stand that he did not hear any cursing or swearing by Editor Richardson.

Throughout the trial Judge Murray B. Jones, before whose court the case was finally tried, paid very little attention to the evidence and testimony, engaging in conversation with court attaches and others, and more

Editor Richardson fined so heavily?

Simply because he has taken a firm and uncompromising stand and position against wrong and unrighteousness wherever same has existed and

than once told the defense to hurry up and get through.

It was another case of a kangaroo court, only on a little more dignified and decent order and the court paid absolutely no attention to the evidence adduced nor testimony given and all who heard the case were unanimous in their opinion that the "abusive language" charge had never been even proved by the state.

But some will ask, Why was he has done this without fear or favor.

The heavy fine was simply the result of prejudice and ill-feeling against Richardson and those who are conversant with conditions around Harris County

court house were not so overly surprised when same was plastered on the editor.

But what was intended as a "getting-even" blow upon Editor Richardson was a direct and diabolical slap at the race with which the editor is identified and will likely prove a boomerang.

Apparently there is no such thing as justice for a colored man in this part of the moral vineyard and as long as the black man remains voteless and fails to take part in the city and county elections he and his are going to get it in the neck.

Some will say that conditions will change after a while, but such will only be the case when colored men become active and put forth efforts for the amelioration of the present conditions.

Race Problem-1922. United States

RACIAL CRIMINALITY

In the midst of the series of bomb outrages, Ku Klux Klan murders of Caucasians and its burnings of Catholic churches in Canada and the spectacular and infamous holdups throughout the country, the wail about the black race's criminality has suddenly ceased. The murders of the Caucasian ministers and their paramours in New Jersey and Wisconsin; the Herrin (Ill.) massacre and the Kentucky moonshiners' slayings of Federal agents have all been monster crimes against Caucasians by Caucasians. That there has been no black Booths, no Guiteaus, no Czolgoszes, like the assassins of Lincoln, Garfield and McKinley, should cause this prejudice-ridden nation to stop and think. Where in all history, where in all this wide, wide world, has there been another people persecuted as has been the black race and not risen in revolt as fiends of bloodshed and destruction?

The enemies of the colored American base much of their appeal for popular prejudice against him on the ground of his alleged wanton and excessive criminality. The black man's friends, very rare nowadays and even less courageous, palliate this argument with the soft answer that every race has its criminals, and that even though the black race has its quota, conditions of which he is the victim account for such. Ethnologists and sociologists, with few exceptions, who now, as at all times in the past, have not been found wanting when scientific support was needed to bolster up the arguments of the bigoted race at that time in power, have accounted for the colored citizen's alleged criminal tendency on the grounds of his primitive and impulsive nature.

To all such enemies and friends and learned men of science we should like to call attention that the colored citizen of this country has produced no such beastly murderous brutes as have the white Americans furnished to shock the entire civilized world. Neither does this tendency among the white Americans confine itself to any social class or racial group among them. The first families of Virginia are no more immune from the lust for human blood than are the denizens of the Bowery. The clay-eating Georgian cracker is prone to run the entire gamut of inhuman crimes. The proud Puritans of the Old Bay State have produced their finished fiends and anarchists as well. Nor can the haughty Anglo-Saxon point the finger of scorn in crime at the lowly Latin or the humble Hebrew. The Christian world first stood aghast, but it has now learned to endure the lynch murderers of Georgia, Texas and Mississippi, who have riddled with bullets the bodies of thousands of colored men, often innocent, who have strangled them in city squares, have burned them alive at the stake and sold parts of their victim's vital organs to white women or to the children of the coming generation. The primitive black man has not yet mastered lynch law. The first families of the Old Dominion were said by Massachusetts and New York to have gone to seed when Beatty, a few years ago, in cold blood, stealthily murdered his fiancée. But how can either look down on Virginia when Cambridge, the fountain head of this nation's learning, gave to the world Richeson, the preacher, who fiendishly poisoned his wronged and jilted sweetheart; when Cornell furnished, in a doctor o philosophy, a fiendish anarchist and assassin like Frank Holt; when Manhattan contributed a grafting police lieutenant and arch-criminal

who hired expert murderers from the East Side to dispatch a squealing gambler; or Cornell its brilliant graduate, Frank, who foully and fatally slugged an outraged girl employee?

The colored American, thank God, has yet to achieve the race development where he may go to seed. He has yet to have the liberty, even at Cambridge, where he may feel licensed to practice premeditated murder. He has yet to become a metropolitan police lieutenant shielded by the "system" in his right to take offending and annoying human life. He has yet to graduate from Cornell and have a position opened to him in the factory of his forebears, where he may force despised workmen of another race to shield his crimes against maidenhood and upon whom he can conveniently fasten the guilt when his inhuman practices make a fatal slip. Nor can the Roman Catholic look askance at the Protestant when Schmidt, a priest, his hands dripping with the blood of his great and secret wife—whose throat he had deliberately cut and whose body he, an expert at the ghoulish business, had artfully dismembered and deposited, piece by piece, in the river—sanctimoniously conducted scores of confessions. In comparison with the Caucasian's fiendish murderism the slayings of the black man have been as acts of charity. Where, oh! learned men of science, is the wanton and excessive criminality of the colored citizen? Where, Negrophobists, are the black fiends and assassins and Ku Klux Klan anarchists who have attacked capital and would destroy the nation?

BROOKLYN STAND'G UNION

NOVEMBER 23, 1922

CADMAN DEPLORES NEGRO LYNCHINGS

Colored Race Hounded, He
Says, by Enemies of True
Americanism.

HITS KU KLUX AND TURKS.

Both Stir Up Trouble, Declares
Pastor in Church Address.

The Rev. S. Parkes Cadman, D.D., delivered a lecture last night at Central Congregational Church, Hancock street, in connection with a church fair conducted by the Woman's Guild for Service of the Church. Dr. Cadman delivered one of his characteristic addresses, on the "Lights and Shadows of the World." Striking the shadows first, Dr. Cadman referred to the negro problem as one of the great issues of the day. He pleaded for recognition of the black man's good qualities, showing that he is possessed of humor, his ringing laugh keeping him on the sunshiny side of the road. He is a musician, and the speaker thought negro melodies may

yet become the foundation of an American school of song. He is loyal to his country and his flag; as a soldier he never asks not to be sent to the front, even if he sometimes makes good time to the rear, especially at night, when "ghosts" abound.

"A man's freedom," said Dr. Cadman, "no longer devolves on the color of his skin, since Abraham Lincoln struck the shackles off the slaves. Since their emancipation negroes have doubled in number, quadrupled in knowledge and centripeted in substance; therefore, the fact that 3,000 lynchings have occurred in the past five years calls for immediate action on the anti-lynching bill to stamp out that degrading practice."

Dr. Cadman spoke also of the activities of the Ku Klux Klan and other societies which aim to line up Roman Catholics against Protestants, Gentiles against Jews, as a reflex action of a minority against a majority, impelled by many factors demanding serious consideration. Such organizations should be stamped out as antagonistic to the spirit of American law and order, which protects equally all colors and all faiths.

Considering the political unrest in Europe, Dr. Cadman referred to the French Republic, which has had forty-seven changes of government in forty-seven years, urging Americans to stick to the two great parties, so far the touchstones of national independence.

"At the same time," he said, "we should not stay out of the world's affairs. Now is the time for the white races of the world, especially the English-speaking ones, to synchronize for a better civilization. If the white races do not conserve their forces, they will slowly but surely sink into oblivion."

Comparing the 3,600 miles of Canadian frontier, which does not cost the United States one cent for

protection, with the immense sums paid out for policing the Rhineland. Dr. Cadman referred to Canadians as being "one people with us, with one law and the same idea of home." If it were possible to wipe out all the different nations of Europe and remake them into a homogeneous whole, it would wipe out all the hatred that is the enemy of peace, and he declared nationalism, the clan and the old tribal feeling is the source of all war.

The Washington Conference, he said, was a step in the right direction. "Let the Versailles conference bury its dead, the Washington conference irradiates the shadows of the world with a new light, because it heralds similar conferences to enlighten the affairs of the world."

"France needs us and we need France," asserted Dr. Cadman. "If we could but induce her not to build up a military force, ready at all times to threaten the Rhineland, or to back up the Turks who are hammering at the doors of Europe. The Turk is a consumer and a destroyer, and in backing him, both France and Italy place themselves outside the pale of civilization."

"There is also need of establishing Germany anew. She must be given a fresh start or she will dismember and rot. The need of Germany to-day is a wise, well-established constitutional monarchy. For 2,000 years the King has stood, in Germany, for the symbol of the State; a democracy cannot fill the bill. If the Germans were placed under the hand of a wise, magnanimous prince or princess, like the late Queen Victoria, or the present King George V of England, it would tend to prevent future wars and establish a stable government."

Speaking of the civil warfare in Ireland, Dr. Cadman remarked it took the United States 250 years to find itself, so there is hope Ireland may emerge from the present chaos if there are any Irishmen left alive at the end of that time.

"America is a direct exemplification of the marvelous workings of Divine Providence, which has led it forward to its great destiny," he concluded. "America will do her part and do it magnificently, in ending all wars, building up the white races and uniting all the nations of the world into the realm of Christianity."

"A SQUARE DEAL DENIED"

In an article bearing the above heading, published on this page on Saturday last, there was what was in effect an appeal for justice and fair play to an element in our population which asks no more than an opportunity to bear its share and to contribute its part in our social order. It is an appeal that ought to touch the heart of every humane person; but what is far more important, it ought to penetrate the consciousness of educators and industrial leaders. For in denying to the Negro youth the square deal to which he is morally entitled the educational institutions which exclude him are recreant to their trust and the great industries of the land are ignoring or deliberately rejecting what Mr. Manly appropriately terms "the tremendous

reservoir of teachable labor right at hand."

It is one of the tragedies of our own form of civilization that racial isolation and prejudice should have operated to hamper and retard the development and growth of the Negro and to perpetuate a situation in which the members of that race are denied the opportunity to lift themselves to higher levels of intellectual and material development. How can we look for good citizenship among the Negroes, who form upward of one-tenth of the Nation's population, if at every step the individual colored man or woman is repressed and discriminated against, denied the training that would fit them for the higher service of humanity? On this, the humane side of the question, there ought to be no difference of opinion among open-minded, enlightened and justice-loving people. On the industrial side it is one of the unsolved mysteries that intolerance, injustice and prejudice should have prevailed so long to close to the Negro race not only the training schools in science and commerce and industry, but the shops and trades themselves where trained workmen are in demand. Self-interest ought long since have broken down these barriers of prejudice and to have abolished for all time uneconomic and unfair classifications of labor along the lines of color.

The problem, moreover, is one that should impress itself upon thinking men and women as being deeper even in its implications and possible consequences than its appeal to humane feeling and self-interest. For many generations the patience and forbearance of the Negro race have been proverbial. It is the boast of the people of the Southland that the slaves were devoted universally to and loyal to their masters; and since their emancipation and during their amazing development in education and self-help they have displayed a forbearance and humility under imposed handicaps and unfair discriminations that have been an example to their more fortunately placed fellow citizens. But there is a limit even to the patience and forbearance of the Negro; and if every incentive to growth and self-betterment is denied him, if the training and opportunities of useful citizenship are persistently denied him, who can wonder if he becomes embittered and despairing? This is another aspect of the situation that is worth considering; but the vital issue today for the managers of industrial training schools and for manufacturers and employers is whether they are doing right to perpetuate the discriminations of which some pointed examples are given in Mr. Manly's article and whether it is not an imperative duty of citizenship to help remove the intolerant spirit that compels a trained scientist to run an elevator and close classes and shops to a willing student, in each case because the applicant of employment and training is a Negro!

New Astoria Pastor



The Rev. Ebert Dirks, who succeeds the Rev. Dr. C. V. F. Steinfuhrer at the German Second Reformed Church and who preached his inaugural sermon on Sunday

MANY NEGROES AT COMMUNIST SESSION

Afro American
Baltimore, Md.
American Negro Addresses

Full Session of Communist Internationale

In Russia

12-1-22

TELLS OF RACE WRONGS

White Revolutionaries Promise Support in Fight For Negro Liberation

Moscow, Nov. 27 (Crusader Service).—Among the Negroes represented at the Fourth Congress of the Third or Communist Internationale now in session here, those from America form the largest and the most militant group, because they represent that section of the Negro race which is most awake and most race-conscious. There are many others, however, from Africa, the West Indies and other parts of the colored world.

At one of the full sessions of the Congress here, the delegates were addressed for two hours by an American Negro who analyzed the race situation in the United States and vividly painted the wrongs suffered by his race because of disorganization and treacherous and stupid leadership in the past. He also told

what the Negro militants of the United States were doing toward attaining effective organization and courageous and wise leadership of the masses.

White delegates speaking after him, assured him that the Communists of the world were solidly behind all oppressed races in their struggles to free themselves of the incubus of capitalist-imperialism, and quoted generously from these of the Communist Internationale and the secret instructions of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Internationale to demonstrate Communist friendship and interest in their fellow-workers of the Negro race.

Among the other Negro delegates were several from Egypt, one from Haiti, and two from Nigeria. The South African delegation was reported delayed but on its way.

The Negro comrades are the center of interest for the white correspondents from the United States. These latter received a terrible shock on the day of the great Red Troops parade to see the Negro comrades occupying seats of honor in the front ranks of the reviewing stands. They had not well got over the shock when another shock was delivered by the address of an American Negro to the full congress of the Communist Internationale and the favorable responses thereto.

Race Problem - 1922.

United States.

WATERTOWN N Y STANDARD
DECEMBER 12, 1922

**NORTHERN TOURISTS TELL
OF HORSE RACING STAGED
BY NEGROES IN GEORGIA**

**Only Preachers and Deacons
Can Make Entries in
Exclusive Events**

The following letter has been received from Mr. and Mrs. George C. Simmons, of Ellisburg, who with Mrs. T. William Kent Thompson, of Woodville, are motoring to Florida for the winter.

"We have been in camp here at Macon, Ga., for a week and have had a fine week. It was rather cold the first two or three days, colder weather, in fact, than they have had here for four years, but the last few days have been fine. We do not wear any wraps except in the evening when it is a little damp, not really cold. The thermometer registered 80 degrees here Sunday, December 3. We have a fine camp here, it comprises 15 acres and is the nicest camp we have seen. It was formerly the park but the city officials have given it over to accommodate tourists. We have an outside stove, which the boys have built out of bricks, while a tile serves the purpose of a chimney. Our evenings are very pleasantly passed when our tent neighbors join our circle.

Thanksgiving Day we watched the horse races staged by negroes on the fair grounds adjoining our camp site. There were three horses in each heat and only negro preachers or deacons could enter their horses, a fact of which they are very proud. No ordinary "niggah" is allowed to drive, although they were permitted to escort the horses from the track after the race, while the "preachah" driver strolled nonchalantly in the rear, receiving the applauds of the onlookers. The best the horses could do was a mile in two minutes and 25 seconds.

"We had visitors last night from the north, who are on their way to Florida and are stopping in town for a few days. They said that they liked our way of traveling better than their own. In a few days we expect to break camp and go on to Florida."

Race Problem - 1922 United States. NEGRO CALLED "THE BACKBONE OF THE SOUTH"

"For More Than 200 Years
Agricultural Prosperity Has
Depended on Him."

"WHO, THEREFORE, IS MORE
THOROUGHLY AMERICAN?"
N Y C WORLD
AUGUST 20, 1922
Negro Publicist Cites Negro
Farmers' Deep Interest in
Better Farming Methods.

Lester A. Walton, one of the leading Negro newspaper men of this country, has written a series of five articles for The World on the status of the colored man in the South, with special reference to the effect of his participation in the World War on his condition. The World publishes the fourth article to-day.

Mr. Walton is a graduate of St. Louis schools, and has been until recently managing editor of the New York Age. He was a member of the Military Entertainment Service in the war. He accompanied Dr. R. R. Moton, Principal of Tuskegee Institute, on his mission to France to talk to Negro soldiers, and also reported the Peace Conference.

By Lester A. Walton
Two-thirds of all farm land in the South is tilled by the Negro.
The farmer is the backbone of our Nation.
The Negro, therefore, is the backbone of the South.
This is no anomaly, no extravagant expression, no exaggeration.
The Negro farmer of the South and cotton are synonymous. One is the

complement of the other.
Cotton is King in the South. The Negro has made it so.
For more than two hundred years the agricultural prosperity has depended, in the main, on Negro sweat and brawn.
Who, then, is more contiguous to our soil? Who is more thoroughly American?
During March and April I travelled through Northern and Southern Texas. The colored farmer complained of the prevailing low prices for cotton and lack of demand for this staple; so did the white farmer. In the cities white and colored business men attributed dull times largely to the inactivity of the cotton market and the attending prices.
In Galveston hundreds of Negro stevedores were idle. Shipping was practically at a standstill. An air of calm pervaded the business district. On every hand the same lament about cotton was heard.
One had only to walk about Galveston fifteen minutes to get a correct idea of why everybody was "singing the blues." Warehouse after warehouse bulging with cotton, but not a bale going out.
I was in South Carolina during the month of May. Twenty-cent cotton came into being. Presto, change! No more lethargy. The wheels of industry began to move. Farmers and draymen could be seen hauling King Cotton for shipment. At every station bales of cotton met my gaze. Freight business was picking up for the railroads. Business men were assuming a more optimistic view of conditions in general.
It was then the thought occurred to me that unless afflicted with mental astigmatism any person conversant with conditions in Dixie could readily see that the interests and welfare of the South and the Negro are closely interwoven, and that the Negro farmer is a mighty big factor in the development and economic success of the South.
Improved Methods.
The importance of teaching improved methods in farming is fully appreciated by the Federal and State Governments. Two hundred and seventy-six colored men and women are employed as farm and home demonstration agents and at important conferences representatives from the United States Department of Agriculture are sent directly from Washington to give technical information on farming. Extension work is conducted by agents among Negro farmers, who learn valuable lessons for protecting livestock against the ravages of disease, how to scientifically grow cotton and corn and the way to live on a farm in a modern home and under approved sanitary conditions.

The farmer is directly benefited by the Smith-Lever act, which is largely responsible for the county agent, who inspires the farmer under adverse conditions and gives valuable advice and direction relative to raising crops.
Many Negro Farm Owners.
Negroes in the United States own, manage and operate farm lands valued, according to the Board of Census, at \$2,257,645,325. The farms operated by them total 41,432,182 acres. The value of farm land and buildings owned by the Negro is \$854,158,003. Most of the property is in the following States: Texas, \$67,087,818; South Carolina, \$58,839,583; Virginia, \$57,004,473; Mississippi, \$56,712,830; North Carolina, \$56,118,060; Georgia, \$45,465,435; Arkansas, \$43,536,138; Alabama, \$29,021,680; Louisiana, \$25,438,223; Tennessee, \$25,276,745; Oklahoma, \$19,227,142; Kentucky, \$16,389,797.
The above figures were taken from the census of 1920. In a talk in July of this year by a Federal field agent regarded as an authority on Negro farmers and their progress along agricultural lines, he stated that in 1922 Negro farmers owned 38,000,000 acres of land.
Seventy-five per cent. of the Negro farmers in the South are tenants, operating 705,070 farms, aggregating 27,077,582 acres, valued at \$1,676,315,864. The majority of these farms are operated on the crop-sharing plan.
The ten States with the largest Negro farm tenantry are: Mississippi, 137,679 farms, valued at \$343,612,896; South Carolina, 86,963 farms, valued at \$228,355,704; Georgia, 113,929 farms, valued at \$275,484,273; North Carolina, 53,040 farms, valued at \$166,525,511; Texas, 54,945 farms, valued at \$154,568,879; Arkansas, 56,811 farms, valued at \$135,655,066; Alabama, 77,873 farms, valued at \$86,821,727; Louisiana, 50,969 farms, valued at \$81,324,185; Tennessee, 28,289 farms, valued at \$64,349,200; Virginia, 16,585 farms, valued at \$41,502,119.
There are over 2,000 Negro farm managers having charge of 406,088 acres of land, with property valued at \$27,171,458.
Eighty per cent. of the Negroes in the South depend either directly or indirectly on agriculture. No attempt has been made by the Census Bureau to ascertain the number of farm hands who work for owners, tenants and managers for wage. This class would run into the hundreds of thousands.
Negro Farmers at White House.
On Jan. 25, last, President Harding gave an audience to a committee from the National Negro Farmers' Association, when important matters affecting the Negro farmer in the South were discussed. The committee was accompanied to the White House by Secretary Henry C. Wallace of the Department of Agriculture. The President was informed that the com-

mittee represented nearly one million farm operators, who operate more than forty-one million acres of land, valued in excess of two and one quarter billions; that they had come to Washington to present problems relating to their economic and social progress.
A plea was made for a more generous Federal support to Negro agricultural colleges, more adequate distribution of the Smith-Lever and Smith-Hughes funds. For months complaints had been registered by colored farmers in some localities in the South that they were denied membership in local National Farm Loan Associations, through which the farmer is allowed to borrow money at a low rate of interest. Agitation on the subject by the New York Age brought a response from Senators and members of the Farm Loan Board that it was not the policy of the board to discriminate against the Negro farmer.
During the White House conference the President assured the committee the subjects presented would be given serious consideration.
Demonstration Agents.
At the two days' session of the conference of home demonstration agents of Virginia in June announcement was made that there are at work among Negro farmers in Virginia twenty-four farm and seven home demonstration agents, who are in touch with 28,000 Negro farm families in the State; that together with twenty-eight county advisory boards there have been organized 305 community clubs in which are enrolled 7,400 families.
Participating in the conference were an assistant United States Secretary of Agriculture, the chief of extension work for the States Relations Service, the head of extension methods in home economics and educational conditions of rural Negroes, and other representatives from the Department of Agriculture; also present were the State and assistant State directors of extension work from Virginia College of Agriculture and Polytechnic Institute.
It was told at the conference that marketing associations in Virginia are getting under way; that some 5,000 peanut farmers in Virginia and North Carolina are working co-operatively, and that 75,000 farmers in Virginia and North Carolina have signed a contract to market between 375,000,000 and 400,000,000 pounds of tobacco, which will have a value of between \$75,000,000 and \$100,000,000.
Negro Farmers' Conference.
The Alabama Negro Farmers' Conference was held in July. Thirty-odd Negro extension workers brought with them club boys and girls from their respective counties. These young people were given a ten-day course in agriculture and homecrafts. Among the demonstrations for girls was one showing the possibility of maintaining a comfortable home on the farm by having a sleeping porch, bathroom, dining room and other conveniences.

The course for extension workers consisted of two or more demonstrations daily, given by experts from the Department of Agriculture, the Alabama Polytechnic Institute and Tuskegee Institute.
At the eighth annual farmers' demonstration mass meeting of Southeast Georgia, held by Negroes in July, farmers and farm women from twenty odd counties attended. The purpose of the meeting was to show the progress of extension work among colored people and to perfect plans for extending and improving the helpfulness of the service. Federal and State experts were present and discussed different phases of agriculture and problems of community life. Practical demonstrations in cooking, canning and household improvements were also given.
The Gathering at Tuskegee.
The late Booker T. Washington is responsible for the unique and picturesque gathering of farmers known as the annual Tuskegee Farmers' Conference. This year marked the thirty-first annual session. Two thousand farmers took part. Shortly after dawn on Jan. 18, the first day of the conference, vehicles of every description, in many cases mud-covered, could be seen on the Tuskegee Institute campus, and the old "hitching ground" was covered with horses and mules munching their early meal. Groups of farmers with wives and children were gathered here and there around fires built by them to keep out the early morning chill until the "rising whistle" blew and the buildings were opened. Others began to arrive by automobile, and hundreds by train, many coming from quite a distance.
At 10 o'clock the parade started, headed by the Tuskegee Institute band. Floats bearing agricultural and horticultural products and live stock, wound their way to the campus. Behind the band were horses and mules. Then floats with vegetables of all kinds, home-cured meats, country syrup and other foodstuffs. Cotton, Jersey and Holstein cows were very much in evidence.
Interesting and helpful information was imparted at round table discussions. A State demonstration agent from Georgia told of the co-operative associations formed among colored and white farmers in Georgia in 1921. These associations sold ten carloads of peaches, seventy-one carloads of watermelons, and cleared a substantial sum in the sale of hogs.
Negro Market Association.
A farm demonstration agent from Bullock County told of the market associations organized among colored farmers which sold thirty-four carloads of hogs and sixty-five carloads of cows.
One prominent colored farmer from South Carolina when asked how he succeeded in farming, replied: "The farmer who succeeds is the one who has something growing while he sleeps."
"Co-operative marketing, diversi-

fied farming and rotation of crops," was the keynote of the conference, which passed the following resolutions:

"We are pleased to state that in a large measure diversified farming is the result of the teaching which this conference for the past thirty years has been giving. In spite of the fact, however, that we all have larger quantities of food and foodstuffs than ever before, we cannot deny that there is suffering. This is because of the low purchasing power of the crops that we have grown, and likewise in most cases the absence of any market where the crops may be sold. The crying need throughout the South is for some system of marketing that will enable the farmer to obtain at least a fair return for the fertilizer and labor he has invested in the production of his crops.

"The farmers have been criticised for not growing more diversified crops. The diversification of crops will not succeed until markets are provided. There should be throughout the United States a system of co-operative marketing associations and in every section of the South. We also urge that wherever farmers are organized locally they get in touch with the county, State and national agencies to find markets for farm products.

"This conference wishes to impress upon the Negro farmer the importance of striving to keep abreast of the times and to know the latest improvements in farm machinery and modern methods of farming."

"There is no color line in selling hogs; buyers do not care whether they are raised by black farmers or white farmers," was the statement made at the Tuskegee Farmers' Conference by the demonstration agent from Georgia. This statement can be amended to read: "There is no color line in selling cotton, tobacco, peanuts, cabbage, potatoes or any other agricultural commodity."

RESERVATIONS FOR RACES

—BY PROF. JOHN C. ADAMS—

The Federal Government to set aside reservations, just as has been done for the Indians, and on these reservations permit the negro to have his own local government.

MANY readers of the Blade have suggested that the negro problem in the United States might be solved as the Indian problem was solved. The Government set aside reservations for the Indians, providing them with lands and extending to them such aid as prevented them from starving to death, establishing schools for them and, as long as they do not get too wild, permitting them to have their own way on these reservations.

There are less than 250,000 Indians in the United States. There are more than 10,000,000 negroes.

In 1921 Congress appropriated \$10,040,000 for the necessary Federal expenses in taking care of these 250,000 Indians. This does not include the vast investment in buildings and lands, totaling more than a billion dollars in value, involved in handling these Indians.

But if we consider only the current expenses of \$10,400,000 we may say that to take care of the negro as a ward of the Government, on the plan established for Indians, would cost the Federal Government not less than \$401,600,000 a year. This would represent the annual expense and would be in addition to the gigantic sum required to provide lands and buildings.

The first formidable objection to the suggestion that we set aside reservations for the negroes and maintain them there under Federal supervision, is the matter of expense. For the first ten years of such an experiment the Federal Government would have to spend in such activity more money each year than it took to run the entire Federal Government in a normal year before the great war.

But assuming that our country is rich enough to pay the price for this experiment, the most serious objection to the plan remains to be considered. Even white men when they are "taken care of" grow indolent and shiftless. When the spur of necessity is removed all men deteriorate. This is singularly true of the black man. If we established a reservation system for blacks and the Government undertook to take care of their actual necessities, it would be only a matter of time until a great majority of the negroes would depend on the Government for their bread and butter and a blanket. Whatever of initiative and energy developed in the American negro to date, would soon die out, and the chief activity on these reservations would be that of producing more and ever more negro children to be taken care of by the Federal Government.

A Southern "Colonel" met one of the negro men who formerly had worked for him. Sam had a very large family—ebony stairsteps, to which a step was added almost every year.

"Hello, Sam," said the Colonel, "how many children have you now?"

"Well, Massa Colonel," Sam replied, "I ain't ies' sure 'cause I ain't been

home since a week ago Monday."

It would be much like that on a negro reservation where food and shelter were assured and the negro could devote most of his time to building "stair-steps."

The more industrious and intelligent negro would strenuously object to the reservation scheme because he senses the fact that he can make more money and enjoy a fuller measure of prosperity when he associates with whites and works in factories and industries, operated by whites, than he could in a community of blacks deprived of the benefits of the whites' genius for management, a type of ability which is conspicuously lacking in the negro race. Some negroes realize that an "all black" society is bound to be inferior to a society dominated by white initiative and business ability.

It was interesting to read in the Blade some months ago, W. D. Boyce's observations on the aborigines of New Zealand and Australia. He called attention to the fact that in those countries the natives do not survive the processes of the white man's civilization even tho the governments establish reservations and endeavor to make life tolerable for these wards. The American negro thrives in the midst of the white man's civilization. His birth rate is higher than the white birth rate and instead of vanishing, the black race increases and expands. In the United States the native Indians are dying out and our red problem, in the course of time, will have solved itself. If a similar condition existed in the black race there would be less cause for anxiety, but in the face of positive evidence that the black race is increasing and interbreeding is frequent and, if persisted in, will be fatal to the white race, our black race problem becomes one of the most pressing and important domestic problems we have.

THE INDIAN, PROUD AND HAUGHTY, THE CHILD OF SAVAGE FREEDOM, TRAVELS TO THE WEST AND THE HAPPY HUNTING GROUND RATHER THAN ACCEPT A SECONDARY PLACE IN THE NEW ORDER OF THINGS.

The African black persists, increases, and even prospers in the midst of white civilization which, as long as this is true our black race problem will be increasingly acute whether the black man is maintained on Federal reservations or permitted to shift for himself.

The suggestion that negroes be permitted to have their own local government within the reservations fixed by the Government assumes that the blacks are capable of maintaining a government. That is yet to be proved. The negro's idea of government is gold braid, a uniform with as many colors in it as were in famed coat of Joseph, lots of shining medals, feathers and display. One was reminded of this when Marcus Garvey, who proposes to lead his people back to Africa, rode thru the street of Harlem in New York City recently, resplendent in plumage and gold braid. IT SURE WAS A GREAT DAY FOR MARCUS, BUT THOUGHTFUL PERSONS WHO GOT A GOOD LOOK AT HIM IN ALL HIS GLORY, EVEN THO THEY FAVORED THE POLICY OF "AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS," WERE VERY APT TO FEEL THAT MARCUS WAS ALL FUSS AND FEATHERS.

Government reservations for the negroes and their maintenance at Government expense is out of the question. If we provide reservations and still permit the negro to shift for himself we have made the economic question involved, worse instead of better. Next to the menace of blood corruption the chief phase of the race question is the economic question involved in the competition of whites with inferior races in the labor market and in business. WHEN YOU STAND WITH THE BOSS SOME MORNING WHEN HE IS HIRING LABOR AND YOU HEAR A NEGRO SAY: "MISTER BOSS, I'LL TAKE THAT JOB FOR A DOLLAR AND A HALF A DAY," WHEN THE WHITE MAN HAS ASKED FOR \$3.00 A DAY, YOU ARE FACE TO FACE WITH A VERY GRAVE PHASE OF OUR RACE PROBLEM. As long as the negro is in the labor market he will tend to pull down the American standard of living for working people. If a government provides him with a house on a government reservation, then he can go out and work for just that much less a day, and still the white man who competes with him must have wages high enough to pay rent—in addition to providing all the other necessities of life.

The more you study the reservation idea the more impracticable and impossible it seems.



"The Indian, Proud and Haughty, the Child of Savage Freedom, Travels to the West and the Happy Hunting Ground Rather Than Accept a Secondary Place in the New Order of Things."

Race Problem - 1922. United States. AS THE WHITE MAN SEES IT

UNDER the title of "Advice to Negro Leaders," the Chicago Tribune, which advertises itself as "the world's greatest newspaper," of October 28, printed an editorial which we reproduce below. It is here reproduced not because the views expressed in it are indorsed by The Negro World, but because it represents the point of view of a tremendous majority of white Americans:

"The Chicago Defender is one of the leading Negro publications in the country. On the first page of its issue of October 28 appears a two column cut of a Paris demi-mondaine on whose bare arm is a silhouette of Siki, the Senegalese prize fighter. Under this cut are the following lines: *negro world 10-4-22*

"Paris beauties not only carry Battling Siki, conqueror of the gorgeous Georges Carpentier, in their hearts, but wear him painted on their arms as well. These white women, living under the spirit of French belief in equality, liberty and fraternity, are proud to honor their valorous countryman, although he is not white and is just a prize fighter. American chivalry is unable to rise to such heights of honest approbation."

"We call attention to this matter because it illustrates a phase of the race problem as to which we think the colored people are being mischievously misled. Dr. Du Bois and others, black or white, who, in the so-called Niagara movement, and otherwise, have been propagandizing for the removal of social barriers between the whites and blacks, are sowing the wind. Whether the colored leaders like it or not, whether doctrinaires like Oswald Villard approve or not, there is and there will remain a profound instinct against race mixture. It is not a question of chivalry; it is a question of race self-preservation, and if the Negro leaders are willing to destroy their own race identity by intermarriage, white Americans are not. The social equality demanded by this branch of Negro leaders and sympathizers involves intermarriage and intermixture, which will not be tolerated in this country."

"To encourage the colored people to seek and demand it is to invite disaster, not to the whites, but to the blacks. It is to foment a racial feeling which can have only a most tragic development, which will make any previous race violence seem paltry."

"This ought to be realized by colored leaders, and is realized by some of them. But the preaching of social intercourse in the guise of social equality leads straight to destruction for the Negro in America."

Certainly it is enlightening to know how the white man feels about such a bugaboo as "social equality." Garvey may be wrong; he may be an impracticable idealist, but surely one cannot push aside with a gesture of contempt his profound theories on the race question and how to solve it.

GREAT INTEREST IN STUDY BOOKS ON THE NEGRO IN AMERICA.

A report just made public by Dr. Gilbert Q. LeSourd, Conference and Promotion Secretary of the Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, gives some interesting facts regarding the remarkable interest in the study books dealing with the Negro in America, prepared and published jointly by the Missionary Education Movement and the Council of Women for Home Missions.

Dr. LeSourd's report shows that the first edition of 45,000 copies of THE TREND OF THE RACES by Dr. George E. Haynes has been sold out and a second edition of 15,000 is now being run off the press. This shows a remarkable interest in race relations, as the season of greatest use of the study books does not come until later in the year and the total sales of the corresponding book last year was only 54,000. One of the striking features about THE TREND OF THE RACES has been a large demand for it from the general reading public quite independent of the Home Mission Study Courses of the Churches, for which the book was mainly prepared.

The same interest is shown in the alternate book, IN THE VANGUARD OF A RACE by Mrs. L. H. Hammond. Already this year the first edition of 25,000 copies of IN THE VANGUARD OF A RACE has been exhausted and a second edition of 10,000 is now on the press, although the total sale of the corresponding book last year reached only 24,000. This truly remarkable volume of biographies of Negroes who have achieved is meeting with universal favor among people of all classes and both races.

New York City.

NEW YORK TIMES

SEPTEMBER 26, 1922

FAIR PLAY FOR THE NEGRO.

The report of the Commission on Racial Relations appointed by Governor Lowden of Illinois soon after the Chicago race riot in July of 1919 has just been made public. It is of national value, and not merely of local application in its findings. It discusses in a thorough way what it calls "our most

"grave and perplexing domestic problem," the relation of whites and negroes. The commission, under the Chairmanship of EDGAR A. BANCROFT, consisted of six white members, among whom were VICTOR LAWSON, JULIUS ROSENWALD, Professor FRANCIS W. SHEPARDSON of the University of Chicago and six negroes. The volume (published by the University of Chicago Press) which embodies the results of their study of the problem presents not only a new and comprehensive view of the racial situation in America but also specific suggestions as to what the local governments, the principals and teachers in the schools, the social agencies, the labor unions, the employers of labor, the street car companies and, finally though not least of all, the press ought to do.

The problem cannot be dismissed. The deportation of negroes, the establishment of a negro State, complete segregation—such proposals or hopes are vain. The solution must be "in harmony with the fundamental law of the nation and with its free institutions." The story of the particular episode which led to the appointment of this commission, with the pictures which illustrate that story, is one that must bring shame to every American reader. But if it deepens the sense of obligation to assist in bettering conditions, public confession will be good for our civic soul. The recommendations of the report all have their basis in the conviction that such lapses as have been apparent among negroes "are due to circumstances of position rather than to distinct racial traits." If the public is brought to share this conviction with the commission, we shall have gone a long way toward doing the right thing by the twelve million negroes in America.

Governor LOWDEN urged strongly the creation of a permanent commission on race relations for Chicago. It is promising that in two-thirds of the counties in thirteen Southern States inter-racial commissions now exist to promote justice and good-will between black and white. GEORGE MADDEN MARTIN, a Southern woman and author of the "Emmy Lou" stories, hopefully recounts in McClure's for October the progress of this movement undertaken by white people who live in the South. If, as Marse HENRY said, the negro is "God's shadow on

the dial of progress," such reports suggest that we are really making an advance.

ATTITUDE OF THE JAPANESE TOWARD COLORED PEOPLE

Editor Of "Jitsu-Seikatsu-sha" Says Best Answer Is Fact That Government Officially Proposed Equality Of Races At Versailles Conference.

Associated Negro Press 10/30/22

CHICAGO, Ill., Oct. 18.—An interesting conference was held here last week by Umeshiro Suzuki, Tokyo, Member of Parliament and also one of the leading sugar men of Japan. T. Shirayanagi, Editor of "The Jitsu-seikatsu-Sha, the Social Reformers' Review, Tokyo, Tatsuo Okada of Kojunsha Club, Tokyo, and Jesse Binga, president of Binga State Bank. The Japanese are studying social conditions, particularly as they affect the Negro in this country. The conference which was carried on with Mr. Okada acting as interpreter, brought forth the following questions as asked by both the Japanese and colored banker after they had inspected the handsome quarters of the bank:

Mr. Binga wanted to know, "What is the attitude of Japanese toward colored people?" Mr. Suzuki replied, "The best answer to that is the fact that the Japanese government officially proposed equality of races at the Versailles Conference. The principle is larger than the particular situation of any race. There is no discrimination in Japan. All foreigners are on the same basis and are accepted according to their social standing."

Mr. Binga recounted the various difficulties which the Negro faces in America—some of his pet phrases being, "The white man is silently withdrawing his Christianity from the Negro. He does not want to share any good thing with him. The white men are so avaricious that they are destroying each other and warring against each other." He said, "There was the Ku Klux Klan pitted against the Jews, the Catholics, and Negroes. There was capital against labor. And here came the Negro picking up the Cross. The white man was too busy to stop his progress."

Mr. Suzuki answered: "The darker races must admit at this particular time the white races are in the lead

It is up to us to secure all of the benefits which might be possible from our contact with them. I feel the development of any race must come from the evolution of the entire group. Of course, there are exceptional individuals who might make particular and spectacular progress, but the whole body must be moved up. I believe that that race makes the greatest growth white or dark, which gets the greatest outside contact with other races, and therefore acquires the broadest viewpoint."

hopes to observe conditions at first-hand. The Associated Negro Press representative who sat in on the conference raised the question as to whether or not the Japanese regarded themselves, as has been claimed by Lothrop, Stoddard, and other writers, the leaders of the dark races of the world, in their effort to improve their conditions. The distinguished visitor diplomatically evaded an answer to this question.

SUFFALO N.Y. TIMES

SEPTEMBER 18, 1922

PSYCHOANALYSIS

INSANITY AMONG NEGROES

By Andre Tridon

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Census findings relative to insanity among negroes confirm what psychoanalysts of the modern type consider as the actual cause for mental disturbances. The Southern negro remains, mentally more healthy than the Southern white. In other words, out of a hundred white people and a hundred negroes more white people than negroes will go insane.

In the north the proportion is reversed. The percentage of negroes going insane is greater than that of white people.

In the South, the standard of living among negroes is low but is accepted as unavoidable by the large masses of the primitive, ignorant population. The struggle for life and recognition is not very severe. The individual negro knows that there are certain lines he cannot cross and he does not try to cross them. If successful in his line of activity he finds easy recognition among his kind and does not have to go off into insane imaginings to find happiness. If a failure, he can fall back upon the easy going, sluggish family group and find smiling sympathy which the economic pressure has not as yet made too costly to those giving it. The depth of poverty and slovenliness reached by very large numbers of the Southern population never allow the slightly touchy or ambitious negro to feel his defeat very keenly. However badly defeated he may be, his misery easily finds company and he generally meets some one else who is much worse off.

In the North, on the other hand the ambitious colored man from the South finds himself more isolated

The struggle for life is fiercer. Life standards are higher and the defeated man reaches the gutter with alarming speed. Barriers which, in the South, are obviously raised against the colored man, assume in the North a more ghastly appearance.

The colored man in the North never knows exactly where he stands and is more easily a prey to loneliness and homesickness. In the South he is regarded as an animal but is "safe" in the sense in which chicks gathered around the mother hen feel safe. In the North his constant lack of safety drives him more quickly to seek neurotic safety devices.

Chicago Daily Tribune
"MORE TO BE PITIED THAN
"LICKED." 10/23/22

Chicago, Oct. 20.—R. L. B.'s letter in your issue of Oct. 17 is rightly captioned "A Southern View of the Negro Problem." He got off on the wrong foot at the first jump. The report referred to was made by a commission composed of an equal number of the two races appointed by Gov. Frank O. Lowden, and not by the University of Chicago. The University Press did print the report, however. The letter indicates either that he has not read the report, or, having read it, his mentality is insufficient for him to digest it, or his biased, prejudiced and renders him incapable of impartial criticism. Hence, with a narrowed vision and a single track mind, he sees nothing but disaster in this effort of the interracial commission to bring about a better understanding between the races and comes forward with the usual claptrap about social equality, inferiority, and other tommyrot. Clandestine social intermingling is a fixed institution in the southland, as is evidenced by the thousand of mulattoes and other hybrids in that section.

His statement that those Negroes who have made the most progress have done so because of their white blood is not within the facts. Maj. Moton, the present head of Tuskegee; Prof. Scarborough, former head of Wilberforce college; William Pickens, former president of Morgan college; Kelly Miller of Howard university; Rene Maran, French-African, author of "Batouala," are all men of pure Negro blood.

R. L. B. should be pitied for attempting to discuss a subject of which he knows so little. W. H. JACKSON.

N. Y. C. SUN

SEPTEMBER 23, 1922

Cobb and the Negro Mind.

What the white man thinks of the negro has been told in hundreds of volumes. What the negro thinks of the white man is far less voluminously expressed in polite print. Irvin Cobb, in "J. P. Indexter, 'Colored'" (Doran), though in a somewhat farcical mood, gives more than one glimpse over the fence. The reader has a feeling that the book knows what it is talking about.

The dark complexioned hero tells his own story, and his use or misuse of words isn't the least of the fun. He has been Judge Priest's man for years but

in this book he takes a flier in youth, goes to New York with a white spend-thrift lad, and saves his employer from the consequences of foolishness.

Perhaps the weakness of the white man is exaggerated somewhat more than it need be. But that gives J. P. his chance. He tells how he learned his own lesson first in buying gold bricks—though the seller really gets the worst of it.

At any rate the experience prepares him to keep a sharp watch on the white sharks, male and female, that are after his employer. The young man goes into business of a kind. But work doesn't worry him.

It is in the movie episode that Poin-dexter expresses himself most effectively about his own people. He is telling a white producer how to make films for negroes.

"If you wants to perduce a piece showin' a lot of niggers gittin' skinned, let it be another nigger w'ich skins 'em. . . . An' whatever else you does, don't mess w'ld no race problem. We gits mouty tired, sometimes, of bein' treated the way we of'en is. Tek my own case. I ain't no problem, I's a pusson. I craves to be so reguarded."

Which is the truth, in black and white.

RACE STATUS ORDERLY IN 'BETTER' DISTRICTS

Relations Also Found Peace-
ful in Areas Where Ne-

groes Have Long Lived

CHICAGO ILL. NEWS
SEPTEMBER 23, 1922

An index to future race relations in the United States is given by an analysis of the progressive attitudes toward the Negro race in neighborhoods in which the Negroes form a new element in the district, in neighborhoods in which the Negroes are comparatively old residents and in neighborhoods in which Negroes are scattered individuals rather than an element of the population.

Does one Negro encounter race friction? Or 200 Negroes? Or 2,000 Negroes? Does friction develop immediately or during the first year, or after a long time?

Will the race problem in this country grow steadily more acute, or will mutual toleration and fair dealing reduce the problem with each passing decade?

In its recently issued report, "The Negro in Chicago," the Chicago commission on race relations, made up of leading representatives of the white and colored races, which was appointed by Gov. Frank O. Lowden following the race riots in July, 1919, gives the results of a deep study of the distribution of the Negro population in Chicago and its apparent effect upon racial feeling.

Peace in Old Districts.

Where Negroes have lived for some years, where the members of both races are of high character, and where no economic conflict is involved, relations are amicable, according to the report.

Different neighborhoods of Negro residence are taken up separately, as follows:

"The south side—While the main colony of Chicago's Negro population is located in a central part of the south side, Negroes are to be found in several parts of the city, ranging from less than 1 per cent to more than 95 per cent in proportion to the total population. In some of these neighborhoods whites and Negroes have become adjusted to one another; in others they have not.

"One of these adjusted areas is the so-called 'Black Belt.' Because 90 per cent of the Negroes of Chicago live there, it is usually assumed that the area is 90 per cent Negro. The fact is very different. The most densely populated section of the south side area, between Roosevelt road and 39th street, Wentworth avenue and Lake Michigan, has a population of 54,966 Negroes and 42,797 whites.

"There has been no noticeable friction in this area, and even during the riot few whites living or engaged in business there were molested by Negroes. Most of the whites killed or injured there came from other sections of the city. The many large apartment houses and family hotels occupied by whites are apparently little affected by the presence about them of many Negroes.

Woodlawn Situation Friendly.

"Relations in Woodlawn, where the Negro increase has been relatively large, are for the most part friendly. No clashes have been reported, except in the one instance of a group of white boys who threw stones at a building in which they saw Negroes. When they were arrested, it developed that they had come from another neighborhood. Following the stirring up and organization of anti-Negro sentiment in Hyde Park, an attempt was made to organize white Woodlawn property owners against the 'invasion' of the district by Negroes. This organization was not a very great success. There have been no bombings in this district, and no concerted opposition to the presence of Negroes as neighbors. Long, amicable residence together, and the good character of the Negroes, as well as the whites, are probably important reasons for the absence of friction. And it also should be said that in the Woodlawn district the proportion of Negroes is so small that there has been no occasion for much controversy over an alleged depreciation of property values on account of Negro occupancy."

Neighborhoods having virtually an equal population of white and colored citizens, should have presented the greatest danger of rioting. On the contrary, whites and Negroes who had lived peaceably for several years, continued to do so in spite of the general disturbance, the report declares.

Orderly on West Side.

Again, the commission finds no friction among workmen where the Negroes are outnumbered two to one.

"The west side—On the west side there has been a settlement of Negroes for many years. Houses are cheaper there than on the south side; and although the general level of ordinary workingmen's homes compares favorably with that on the south side, there are few abandoned residences formerly occupied by wealthy persons now available for Negroes. There has been little friction within this area, in which 9,221 whites and 6,520 Negroes live. West side Negroes, laborers for the most part, are generally home-loving, hard-working people, desirous of improving conditions for their children. Older settlers among them have been able to make their adjustments without great

difficulty, meeting with no serious antagonism from white neighbors.

"The north side—On the north side, Negroes live among foreign white and near a residential area of wealthy Chicagoans. The appearance of the first Negro residents there occasioned little notice or objection. They were for the most part house servants living near their work.

"This neighborhood has experienced several complete changes in population. It was first occupied by Irish, then by Swedes, then by Italians, who are the present neighbors of Negroes. Friendly relations exist between the Sicilians, who predominate, and their Negro neighbors. Some Negroes live harmoniously in the same tenements with Sicilians. Their children play together, and some of the Negro children have learned Sicilian phrases so that they are able to deal with the Sicilian shopkeepers. Elsewhere on the north side the feeling between Italians and Negroes is not so cordial."

[Another section of the race commission report will be taken up in an article tomorrow.]

Race Problem - 1922

United States

The South and the Bonus

Some of our Northern contemporaries never appear quite so ridiculous as when they undertake to discuss Southern affairs, and especially matters in which the racial question enters. Thus, if it were not such a serious reflection on the intelligence and spirit of the people of the South, the Nebraska State Journal's interpretation of the South's opposition to the bonus, would be ludicrous in the extreme.

The Nebraska paper reminds its readers that the South is a great cotton producing region, and that cotton is produced principally by negroes. Many of the negroes saw service in the war, and would be eligible to a bonus. Given this money, the negroes would immediately drop work, and remain idle until it had been spent. In the meantime, the cotton crop would be neglected, and the South's prosperity imperilled.

This is probably the first intimation that Southern people have had that the question of race entered into the bonus proposal at all. If the fact that the negro would come in for bonus benefits has ever been mentioned in a Southern newspaper, as an argument against the payment of the bonus to former soldiers, it has entirely escaped the notice of The Post.

And there has been an absence of such argument for the very good reason that it would not be worth mentioning. In the first place the negro soldiers made up a comparatively small part of the contingent the South sent to the war. With the exception of one or two States where the negro population approximates that of the whites the number of negroes who went into the army was not great enough to have appreciable effect on the industrial situation at this time. If every negro soldier in the South were given a bonus and dropped work immediately, the cotton crop would still come along about as usual.

In the second place, there is little reason to expect the negro beneficiaries of the bonus to quit work and loaf than to expect it of the whites. A certain percentage of both races would surely adopt such tactics, but it is placing an estimate on the negro entirely too low to assume that the negro soldiers as a class would become loafers until their bonus money was spent. The probability is that the negroes, especially those in the farming districts, would put their money to as good purposes as would the average white soldier.

The idea that the negro should not share in the bonus has not occurred to the average Southerner. If the bonus be provided, Southern white people will insist that the negro soldiers share in the benefit according to what is due them. No distinction was made in drafting the negroes and none should be made in distributing rewards.

The opposition to the bonus plan found in the South is based on very different reasons from that cited by our contemporary. Southern people are keenly alive to the embarrassing financial situation the country is in, and are opposed to increasing the burdens of taxation upon the people at this time. Racial or sectional feeling has played no part in bringing them to their position. They have simply found that the proposition is economically unsound at this time, and demand that it be postponed until a more propitious season.

"The Negro, or the Creator's Masterpiece"

We reproduce from the Memphis Commercial-Appeal of September 7th the following extracts from an article written by S. F. Davis, of Paducah, Miss., on the negro, whom he regards as "the Creator's masterpiece."

"The negro can lie down beneath the scorching rays of a noonday sun and sleep the sleep of the seven sleepers of old without suffering any evil effects from it what-

ever; or he can weather the fiercest winter gale, clad only in a pair of cotton overalls and a blue jumper. He can also wear an overcoat to a Fourth of July celebration, or a pair of linen pants and an alpaca coat to a Christmas tree and be perfectly comfortable. And, strange as it may seem, anybody's clothes will fit him, and look nice on him. There is nothing else like him under the sun. He sees all things, hears all things, believes all things and has implicit faith in everything he sees or hears and

stands ready at all times to step aboard 50 cents each, and none of whom had on of anything that comes along, from a clothes enough to flag a flat car, clinging to young mule to a flying machine.

"Wireless telegraphy is nothing new around, grinding out that well-known and him; he has used it for ages; every negro's much-beloved melody, 'Oh, Billy Bailey, mouth is a transmitter and every ear a receiver. If anything of importance happens front teeth shining like the keys on a baby on a plantation tonight, every negro for grand piano, while hundreds of others, who forty miles around will know it by morning. did not have the price of a ride, were stand-

"Saturday is his special day by customing in half-frozen mud shoe-mouth deep, and common consent, and if you have any cheering them as they came round.

business to attend to in a delta town on "All things are pleasing to him. A circus Saturday, attend to it early and get off theor a funeral is equally enjoyable, but a streets before you get hurt. A negro protracted meeting followed by a big bap-

can not see you Saturday unless you owe him something, and if you get in his way by a public hanging, is his chiefest delight. he is liable to step on you, sit down on you, "Whenever a negro tires of country life or back you up against a brick wall and he moves to town, acquires a charcoal smother you to death. He does not usually bucket and a tailor's goose, forms an alli-

do these things, or any of them, throughance with some white man's cook, and with any evil design, as many sometimes sup- his living thus assured, opens a cleaning pose, but he simply can not help it if you and pressing establishment. He then goes get in his way, for he is busy and can not out Monday morning and gathers in the look out for you. Saturday is his 'rashions' Sunday clothes of the white clerks of town, and news exchange day, and in addition to and after wearing them himself every night having all those things on his mind, he has during the week, he gets up Saturday morn-

to shake hands with every other negro ining and treats them to a gasoline bath, flat-

town and hug every negro woman hetens them out with a red-hot iron and meets. You had better take out an acci-rushes them home to their owners, so that dent policy or get off the streets Satur- they may wear them Sunday; collects \$1.50 day. for his services in their behalf and goes on

"The standard 'rashions' for a negro is this way rejoicing. But should there be any a peck of cornmeal, two pounds of sugar, special occasion in town on Saturday night one gallon of black molasses a week, but which he wishes to attend he holds back the he can consume all of this at one sitting best suit that he happens to have on hand

if necessary, or if he is working for you and wears it to that, and carries it home and boarding himself he can live a week on Sunday morning if he wakes up in time; three soda crackers, a box of sardines and otherwise its owner can lay in bed over five cents' worth of cheese. In other Sunday, and he will bring it back sometime words, his stomach is built on the same the following Monday.

general plan of an old-fashioned accordion, "If perchance his fancy does not run to cleaning clothes, he gets himself a gaso-

and either contracts or expands according line stove and other paraphernalia where- to the pressure brought to bear upon it. with to defeat the vagrant statute, and

"He is also immune to nearly all kind of poisons, and can swallow the most deadly sets up a lunch counter, where he serves all such as care to come his way, irrespec-

drugs with impunity. I remember of having a negro working for me one time who was tive of race, color or previous condition of having chills and was suffering with severe servitude, with hamburgers, hot catfish and beef sausage, and sometimes sweet spirits backaches. I got him a bottle of chill tonic of ferments on the side. But should neither to take and a bottle of liniment to rub of the locations appeal to him, he usually his back with. The liniment was labeled in opens a colored barber shop with a poo-

box-car letters, 'Poison; For External Use Only,' and I cautioned him about it when room and crap table in the rear.

I gave it to him, but for three days and "As soon as the city authorities becom-

nights, before I found it out, he had been obnoxious to him, however, he again go-

rubbing his back with the chill tonic and back to the quiet country life, usually rig-

taking a tablespoonful of the liniment after the Christmas holidays, and joins

three times a day before each meal, with himself to a cotton planter, and by his cer-

excellent results. On another occasion I tain written contract, dully executed in

was sick and had a negro to wait upon duplicate, obligates and binds himself to

me, and the doctor opened a can of anti-cultivate and gather a crop of cotton on

phlogistine to make a plaster for my side, the land therein described, and on the

and left the can on the kitchen table, and strength thereof proceeds to eat up any-

when my negro went in to get his supper where from \$5 to \$300 worth of grub while

he mistook it for a can of peanut butter he is waiting for the ground to get in

and ate the whole of it without ever dis- shape to plow, and it very frequently hap-

covering his mistake. pens that when the trees begin to bud and

when the birds begin to whistle and the

grasshopper begins to sing, Mr. Negro is

and in nearly every negro's home, he is

seized with wanderlust and suddenly disap-

pears so humble, there hangs a life-size

crayon portrait of himself on the wall right

know him no more forever. Every delta

opposite the door, where you will be sure

town also has its full quota of negro wom-

to see it as you come in the door. The resten, who, like the lily, toil not, neither do

of his surplus money he usually spends for

they spin, yet the Queen of Sheba in all

entertainment, preferably an excursion, but

of her glory was never clad like unto one of

anything else in motion will do. I have

them. frequently stood on the street corner on a

"Surely the negro is fearfully and wonder-

cold, cloudy winter day and watched as

fully made, and his ways are past finding

many as fifty negroes, would not average

out."

JANUARY 12, 1922

THE NEGRO AND THE LAW.

In a single issue of the New York World two news items relate to the American negro as a law enforcer. Nature and environment, especially in country life, have given to the American negro great physical strength and a simple heart, and both of these fit naturally into the task of apprehending offenders against society.

On the first page of the newspaper is a photograph and article about Magistrate SCOTT, a Philadelphia negro, who courageously arrested LUTHER BODDY, the New York negro who had killed two detectives. SCOTT, sixty years old and former pugilist, entered a cheap lodging house where the murderer was enjoying his first sleep for three days, poked a pistol into his belly and called on BODDY to surrender. BODDY did so, declaring, "I would have got you if you didn't have the gun because I had two in bed with me." SCOTT then aided a policeman to deliver the slayer to a police station.

He is described as a large man and a Republican leader in the negro districts of Philadelphia. By all accounts the magistrate is a first-rate American citizen.

On an inside page of The World of the same date a dispatch from Wheeling, West Virginia, relates that a six-foot four-inch, two hundred and fifty pound negro by the name of ARRINGTON has been appointed a deputy prohibition inspector. He was promoted from the Wheeling police force because he had single-handedly arrested more bootleggers than all the other policemen on the force had arrested all other offenders on all charges. The article further declares that ARRINGTON has never drawn a gun except to shoot automobile tires and has made his arrests with his hands. "Not a word has ever been breathed against his integrity," continues the dispatch, "while many white men in the law enforcing departments have been dismissed for collusion with bootleggers. The appointment of any other negro to police or prohibition departments would stir race feeling here, but this is not true of ARRINGTON."

THE TIMES finds these two articles very grateful reading, indeed. They reveal certain inherent qualities of the African race in America which poverty and ill-treatment and false city life have done much to stifle in the negro's heart and body. But deep down they are there. And any race which possesses them is a good race, indeed.

BIRMINGHAM ALA AGE HERALD

FEBRUARY 1, 1922

AMERICANISM IS SAFE
IN THE SOUTH

It is good for the preservation of the ideals of our American forefathers that the country has the unmixed native blood of the south to which to appeal in national crises. Whatever the faults of the southern people, they are typically American. They live and think as Americans.

The census figures of 1920 show that of the 2,348,174 inhabitants of Alabama there are only 17,662 of foreign birth which is only a

fraction over 1 per cent of the total white population of 1,447,032. Foreign hates and prejudices find a poor soil for venting themselves in Alabama.

There are 900,652 negroes in this state. So far as Americanism is concerned, the negroes are like the whites. In fact, the negro, being of simple mind and taking small note of the world beyond his home, knows little about foreign countries and cares less. German propagandists who tried to influence him during the war failed.

The south has broad and roomy spaces. It welcomes desirable people from wherever they come, but it wants them to come as a matter of individual preference and because they like the state, its customs and its written and unwritten laws.

The south's most precious heritage is her American blood, and it is likewise among the mainsatys of the republic.

N. Y. C. TRIBUNE

JANUARY 21, 1922

The Franchise in Mississippi

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Frederick L. Perry's second letter on the franchise in Mississippi calls to mind a man we once knew who was known about town as "S'posin'" Edmunson. Granting that his figures, "taken from a good Democratic source," are correct, it still is quite evident that he is building his entire argument on the supposition that fear on the part of the negro voter to exercise the franchise accounts for Mississippi casting fewer votes in the Presidential election than did Kansas.

The Southern negro is so entirely different from his Northern brother you cannot fully appreciate the workings of his brain. His failure to vote is traceable directly to his utter indifference and not his fear. Coming from a state whose negro population exceeds its white, we are acquainted with the negro. He can vote with perfect safety, but doesn't want to and won't.

Let's get down to brass tacks, forget the Mason and Dixon line and quit dealing in sentimental gush. Until the Northern belief that the negro is downtrodden is replaced by a real and thorough understanding of the actual facts and circumstances surrounding the relations existing between the two races, the North cannot expect the South to consider seriously its critical attitude. S'posin' we quit s'posin' and know our ground.

O. M. M'CULLOUGH

New York, Jan. 19, 1922.

RESOLUTION CALLS
FOR NEGRO STATE

Baltimore, Feb. 9.—Southern Ask President And Congress To Buy Land In Africa

Jackson, Miss., Feb. 9.—Senator McCallum today introduced in the State Senate in session here, a concurrent resolution providing for the Legislature of Mississippi to memorialize the President of the United States and the National Congress to secure by treaty, by purchase or other negotiation, sufficient territory in Africa to make a suitable and final home for the American Negro, where, under the tutelage of the American government, he can develop for himself a great republic, to become in time a free and sovereign state and take its place at the council board of the nations of the world.

Senator McCallum proposes to use such part of the allied war debt as may be necessary to acquire such territorial possessions to the end that America shall become a nation of one blood, as it is in spirit, and as he says "To give the American Negro opportunity for the development of racial development under the most advantageous circumstances."

New York, Feb. 9. — "Senator McCallum's resolution calling for a Negro republic in Africa, shows that the efforts of the Universal Negro Improvement Association have begun to bear fruit to the extent that we have succeeded in arousing public sentiment in the interest of a Negro state in Africa," was the statement issued by the U. N. I. A. publicity department commenting on the proposal of a Negro republic in Africa.

Educational Experts and the Southern Problem.

Commercial Appeal
2/15/22
Memphis, Tenn.
A distinguished representative of the Carnegie Foundation, Mr. Wm. J. Gies, a representative of the dental department of the University of Michigan, and two other distinguished members of dental examining boards, spent Monday and part of yesterday in Memphis inspecting the dental department of the University of Tennessee.

The gentlemen found that the dental students in Memphis have splendid opportunities for laboratory and clinical work. They found that the demonstrators and professors were giving the best there is in teaching and in practical work to the young men and young women attending the courses.

The three departments of the University of Tennessee, located in Memphis, are developing in a manner most agreeable to educational experts. Un-

der the present plan within two years these departments will have as many as 500 students. Students from Tennessee itself will get exceptional advantages because of the support rendered to the university by the state.

The gentlemen were concerned as to dental and medical teaching for negroes. The negroes are gradually beginning to care for their own. Two large negro medical colleges, one at Nashville and the other at Washington, cannot supply the need for trained medical black men. The facilities for dental study are deplorably weak. The negro is entitled to have his medical and dental attention come from trained hands.

In the City of Memphis we have an enormous negro population. They have few skilled physicians and fewer dentists. The negro suffers from teeth just as does the white man. It is an error to think that his teeth are better than those of the whites. The ivory-colored tooth in the negro's head appears so because of the blackness of his skin.

There are probably more negroes within 150 miles of Memphis than any other spot in the world excepting Africa. These negroes are on the farms and in the homes of the whites. Many of them are home and office attaches. They come in daily contact with the white people. They should be kept in good health for their own sake, and they should also be kept in good health for the benefit of the health of the white people and of the general community of which they are a great part.

It would be a great thing if the Carnegie Foundation could develop a school wherein the negroes could be taught medicine, dentistry, pharmacy and nursing. In the beginning much of the teaching would have to be done by white instructors, but the ideal would be to so develop this institution that able instructors could be secured from members of the colored race.

We are going to have the negroes with us in these parts for a long time. It is our duty then to give them a chance to remain healthy in body and to develop their minds along the lines of order, sobriety and obedience to the law of the land. Education then along the lines suited for them should be arranged for the negroes.

It has become bad form down here for white people to exploit negroes, but we must also arrange it that the negro will not be exploited by his own people.

This will come about by education directed along lines suited for the development of the colored man.

We have said from time to time much about race leadership. But the subject needs stressing more today than ever. For at no time since the Civil War have we been more in need of leaders than today, and at no time have we had less leadership than today.

The leaders the whites would choose for us, we will not accept, and we have not been able to produce a leadership of our own. Since Booker T. Washington's death, our white friends have not been able to produce a Negro leader of sufficient size to appeal to the nation; and leadership in Negro education has almost passed over to Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, a very able and well trained white man, who studies Negroes far more than Negroes study themselves, and who knows more about them than they know about themselves. Dr. Jones is the recognized leader in the educational affairs of the race, and by force of superior knowledge on the one hand and the poverty of the Negro on the other will probably remain the leader for many years to come, as he is still a young man.

In politics, since Frederick Douglass died we have had no leader within the race who measured up to national proportions. During the past few years Henry Lincoln Johnson of Georgia, by virtue of being the only Negro on the National Republican Committee, has been looked upon as the most powerful leader in national politics. But Mr. Johnson's way did not suit the lily whites, and the Negroes were not organized to support him, so he was put upon the dump heap, and 12,000,000 Negroes are today without any definite leadership so far as politics are concerned.

In labor circles, the field in which most Negroes must move and have their being, there is not now and never has been any sort of effective leadership. By the subtlest of means, the employing group has kept Negroes from organizing their labor, and kept them from even wanting to do so, notwithstanding all other elements of labor are organized. The chief economic movement of Negroes since the Civil War was the mi-

gration from the South during the war; but it was a movement of individuals and entirely without leadership except in so far as labor agents representing large corporations, needing unskilled workmen, may be called leaders. Some good white people tried to supply a labor leadership through the appointment of a well trained Negro in the Department of Labor, but he was unsuccessful because Negroes have not awakened to the need of labor leadership.

Perhaps the nearest thing to economic leadership we have approached is in the Marcus Garvey movement, which swept the country as no other similar movement before; but which, on account of the poverty of the people and the lack of training of the leaders of the movement, and the opposition of the so-called intelligent Negroes, appears to have struck a snag.

As to religious leadership—that has been the most definite leadership, about the only leadership we have had on a national scale. Nowhere except in religion has the Negro organized himself, chosen his own leaders and paid his own bills. The Negro church is the only free racial institution we have; and in the church we have the great need of national leadership. In our own church for example the connectional spirit is not as strong as the district spirit. We have many leaders but no unified national or international leadership among our people. Herebefore the whites have paid no attention or but scant attention to our church life. But now there is necessity for doing so. This great force must be organized, and unified, and made useful. So the Federal Council of Churches has selected a very competent leader to unify the Negro churches, fix a policy for them, since they will not fix one for themselves.

If the Negroes do not see the need of a unified religious leadership the whites do, and they will use their organizing genius to organize the Negroes for such. In the A. M. E. Church we have 18 little churches; we are not knitting ourselves closer together, but getting farther apart. While we

talk about organic union of all Methodists, we do not have real organic union of 18 districts.

The need of the church today is a leadership which will cement the church. We are now where the United States was before the Civil War, when South Carolina and other Southern States asserting "states' rights" used the national government only as a convenience, not as a force. They looked down on the government. It took a war and the great leadership of a Lincoln to cement this country.

We are exactly where one district feels its own great importance irrespective of others. Hence we cannot get anything connectional done. We failed in the Tercenary. We failed in the Five Million Drive. We have failed in nearly EVERY CONNECTIONAL venture we have started, merely because we HAVE NO CONNECTIONAL LEADERSHIP. Hence great questions of national importance have no meaning to us. We are without proper influence in any of the great national religious, moral, social movements in this country. We have it is true, excellent district leadership. We have done fine district work. But the A. M. E. Church—that great national and international organization—is being forgotten, save in name, while men build up districts.

Give us leadership, local, district, connectional. Our need now is connectional leadership.

THE COLOR QUESTION IN THE TWO AMERICAS

By DUSE MOHAMED ALI

The color question, whether in the new or the old world, like the poor, is ever with us. Dr. Bernado Ruiz Suarez is the latest contributor to a question at once intricate and many-sided, and which is destined to shake the foundations of all white civilization. "The Color Question in the Two Americas" is well written and is pregnant with thought. The doctor tells us of the intricacies of the question in South America, especially Cuba, of the contending factions who struggle for social and political recognition at the hands of the whites; of the betrayal by some of the colored people; how they have sold each other for personal advantage because of the absence of homogeneity and co-operation. He speaks of the domination of the so-called whites, but unfortunately he does not realize that there are very few, if

any, whites of Latin extraction in South America. He does not appear to know that even the reputed pur-blooded Castillyano is a rather engaging blend of Carthaginian mulatto with a subsequent injection of Arab and Black-a-Moor-Negro. This lack of ethnic information is no discredit to Dr. Ruiz; even the "whites" of Spanish America, whom he discusses, do not know, and as the doctor obtained his education in the schools of the whites he cannot possibly have more information than they possess. The servant cannot be above his master.

The psychology of the "near whites" and the other colored grades in Latin America which he so minutely describes bear a striking resemblance to their English-speaking prototypes. It is a peculiarity among these colored people that they, along with Euro-Asians of India, are the only people with whom I am familiar who, for the most part, glory in their bastardy as represented by the illicit white element in them which is used as an evidence of superiority and would be ludicrous but for the underlying tragedy. The doctor is not so happy in his deductions when he discusses the "back to Africa" ideal. He says:

"Illustrative at once of the real influence of the go-to-Africa movement and of the black people's ability to appreciate and tolerate good, high-priced humor, is the fact that no enthusiastic migrant, traveling at his own expense, has got anywhere nearer to Africa than the one hundred and thirty-fifth highway running straight east and west in New York. Along this route some few are said to be awaiting passage. One

or two have crossed the Atlantic Ocean at the expense of the crowd, but they lost no time in recrossing to bring back the news that blackwater fever is no respecter of black persons born outside of West Africa. And this is about as much as the go-to-Africa association is likely to accomplish for the creation of an enduring nation of black people, respected and recognized by all civilization. So far as black Americans are concerned, their nation is within the boundaries of the United States. If they must be independent, they must find a sphere for the exercise of their independence within the union, for they are not going elsewhere."

The doctor is still young. He lacks vision and he has much to gain from mature reflection. He is apparently unaware of the fact that the whites have thrown down the gauntlet before the black, brown and yellow peoples. That the whites have themselves divided the world into two camps—black

and white. That the colored people of Negro origin must inevitably have a separate and distinct entity in their own homeland. That those who have "lost no time in recrossing" to America are neither a credit to American nor any other kind of civilization. The white man has built up his civilization on the remnants and out of the debris of the black, brown and yellow civilizations. If the colored man is too lazy to build for himself, that is no fault of Africa. The white man has succeeded in taking millions out of Africa. East, West, North and South, and he has not permitted "blackwater," nor any other fever, to deter him from doing so. But he has had to work to accomplish this end. The colored man must do likewise if he hopes to cope successfully with the economic struggles which face him in the new world.

Doctor Ruiz suggests a black nation within a white nation. This looks very pretty and idealistic and will no doubt be very alluring to the black man who thinks white, but it is not practical in the work-a-day world of the West. The doctor seems to overlook the fact that his nation within a nation would have to depend upon the white dominant branch for its support; that the Negro, being for the most part a parasite, the question of economic competition would arise, and economic competition would and will eventually lead to black pauperism, starvation and extinction. It is to be regretted that the exigencies of space do not admit of a more lengthy review. I have said the book is well written and although I cannot follow the doctor all the way, he is entitled to his point of view.

"The Color Question in the Two Americas" is published by Dr. Bernardo Ruiz Suarez at 229 West 140th street, New York City.

WHAT MANNER OF MEN ARE THEY?

With the stench from the burning of six human beings yet in their nostrils, and the air pregnant with the news of lynchings during the past twenty days in the South, the Senate of the United States is still dilly dallying and "splitting hairs" over the constitutionality of the Dyer Anti-lynching Bill.

If those who are opposed to the measure are sincere, and want to uphold the constitution of the United States, we would call their attention to the Declaration of Independence, the second paragraph reads:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." that to secure these rights; governments are instituted among men." etc.

The above quotation from the Declaration of Independence should serve as a guide to those Senators who are such guardians of the Constitution of the United States. It doesn't require a Philadelphia lawyer to interpret what it means by those strong words "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

If there is any doubt about the duty of the Congress of the United States to protect Citizens from mob violence, and the power of the Congress to act when States fail, we would call attention to the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution which reads:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State should make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of the citizens of the United States, nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

The above section makes it very plain that one becomes a citizen of the United States first, and that the United States owes that citizen protection and all the immunities in all cases wherever a State fails.

The states have failed and now the matter is squarely up to the Federal Government to act.

To see the Senate quibbling over a matter which is plainly their duty we wonder what manner of men they really are? What kind of conscience have they? What sense of right and justice do they possess? What do they think their duties are?

COURAGE

Clifton F. Richardson, of Houston, Tex., exemplifies the best courage that God has made in man. He is editor of the Houston Informer, a weekly paper. He ranks not only among the most courageous of humans in general, but, what is more than that he is one of the most courageous Negroes in the southern United States. The highest and truest type of courage on this plant is that of a black man in Miss., or Texas. It requires more courage for a black man in Texas to be a normal human being than for a white Texan to be a "hero," for when a black man in Texas dares to walk and talk and act as a normal human being he is in much more danger of his life than is the white Texan who tries the daredevil business. It requires more courage for a Negro to ride on a Pullman car in Texas than for a white to face and fight a dozen robber bandits. For, if the white Texan fought off the bandits and saved his purse, he would be praised by all men and perhaps rewarded; but if a Negro in a Pullman fought

if his would-be murderers and saved his life he would next have to fight every other white man in the state from the governor down. He would find more hell after he extricated himself from the Pullman car than he found in it. A few days ago colored women were forced to get out of the drawing-room of a Pullman car in Texas—not "handkerchief heads," but beautiful, bright, clean young women, two of them secretaries of the National Y. W. C. A. and one a lady physician. Now a drawing-room is more "separate" from the rest of a Pullman car than is the Jim Crow end from the rest of a day coach. This shows the whole hypocrisy, the objection is not to contact with colored people but to comforts for colored people. The chivalrous Texas gentlemen could not bear the thought that colored women were riding in comfort, even though these women were locked in their own drawing-room and could not be seen.

It requires more courage for a Negro editor in Texas to speak and print the truth in time of peace than for any white editor to print treason in time of war. Clifton F. Richardson has been speaking the truth though his Informer, and they are naturally lying in wait for any such Negro. The officers of the law will shield themselves under the cloak of public authority and do to such a Negro what the mob dares not attempt. For some flimsy excuse they will arrest him and get him down to the police station, or "slaughter pen," as Richardson aptly calls it.—Public Journal Phil.

Racial Prejudice on the Increase

CHICAGO ILL CHRS CENTURY
AUGUST 10, 1922

UGLY antagonisms are appearing in the American life.

While most European nations have had at one time or another an anti-semitic party, there has been none in this country. The articles in the Dearborn Independent and the widely heralded newspaper reports of discriminations against Jews in educational institutions have helped us to become conscious of the fact that a large section of the Jewish race now lives in the United States. As the children of the ghetto press into the educational institutions, into the leadership of political parties, into journalistic enterprises and into great financial institutions, there is the usual reaction to these encroachments. The friction between white and yellow races on the Pacific coast is an undiminished fact. The most serious racial problem of America is that in the northern cities. Here white and black labor compete in a variety of enterprises. The resentment of the white man is directed against a race which starts with nothing and through industry and thrift acquires some degree of leadership in the community. A wrong-headed leadership in the labor unions bars out black membership. This compels the Negro to be a "scab." The white labor union man refuses to allow the black man to cooperate, and then starts a riot against him when he competes. This fact transfers to the north the center of interest in the working out of the problem of the negro. The riots in Texas recently show that the south has not found a solution, but unless Christian statesmanship meets the problem more serious things will develop in the north. Meanwhile the gospel of racial toleration and universal brotherhood waits upon the ministry of

the church. How many pulpits dare to give forth this fundamental doctrine?

United States.

WHAT LINCOLN THOUGHT ABOUT SOUTHERN RAPE

Chicago Defender
Was Harding's Birmingham

Address Brave Gauged by

Emancipator's Belief?

2/4/22

By Duncan Milner

President Harding's speech at Birmingham has been said to be the bravest speech on the race question by any President since Lincoln. It may be well, near the anniversary of Lincoln's birthday, to repeat some of the things he said.

In the last public address he made, the evening before his assassination, in reply to a serenade, he said in regard to giving the Colored Race the right to vote in the reorganized state of Louisiana: "I would myself prefer that it were now conferred on the very intelligent and on those who served our cause as soldiers." He encouraged the support of this reorganized state because "it had adopted a free-state constitution giving the benefit of public schools equally to black and white and empowering the legislature to confer the elective franchise on the Colored man."

A Remarkable Letter

In a remarkable letter addressed to James C. Conkling, who had asked Mr. Lincoln to address some "unconditional Union men" at Springfield, Ill., the committee of invitation having criticized the Emancipation Proclamation and Mr. Lincoln's favoring the use of Negro troops, he answered: "I thought that whatever Negroes could be got to do as soldiers leaves just so much less for white soldiers to do in saving the Union. * * * Negroes, like other people, act upon motives. Why should they do anything for us if we will do nothing for them? If they stake their lives for us they must be prompted by the strongest motive, even the promise of freedom. And the promise being made must be kept."

He said also that when peace came and the people who had appealed from the ballot to the bullet had lost their case and would have to pay the cost, "then there will be some black men who can remember that with silent tongue and clenched teeth and steady eye and well poised bayonet they have helped mankind on to this great consummation, while I fear there will be some white ones unable to forget that with malignant heart and deceitful speech they strove to hinder it."

Origin of Mulattoes

In the recent debate in Congress

on the Dyer anti-lynching bill there have been some strong speeches by Congressmen Madden, Little, Burton and others.

No one, however, has suggested an investigation and contrast of the number of assaults upon women in the cities of the country by white men and similar assaults by Colored men, nor has anyone the courage to quote Mr. Lincoln's words as to the assaults upon Race women by white men as suggesting the similar crime today. He said the slave women were "left subject to the forced concubinage of their masters and liable to become the mothers of mulattoes in spite of themselves—the very state of the case that produces nine-tenths of all the mulattoes, all the mixing of the blood of the nation."

HARDING AND THE NEGRO
Commercial Appeal
Editor Commercial Appeal
When I read in the Commercial Appeal of March 27, 1922, the speech of President Harding delivered at Birmingham, Ala., my temperature went up to fever heat and I was never quite cooled down since.

When I read in the Commercial Appeal of March 27, 1922, the speech of President Harding delivered at Birmingham, Ala., my temperature went up to fever heat and I was never quite cooled down since. In the first place Harding's speech was a flagrant breach of courtesy. The white men of the south had invited him because he happened to be the president of the United States, and when he proceeded to advocate negro equality, he offered an insult to every white man, and especially every white woman of the south. He tried to make a distinction between social and political equality, but he failed miserably.

The Literary Digest pictures his courage that no other Republican president has ever had, that of coming south with his negro speech. Well, you know it is said, "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread." It is nothing short of ignorance for him, a northern man to come down south trying to teach the southern people how to treat the negro. He knows just as much about it as he does about raising cotton. No, the truth of it is—it is purely dirty politics, and his speech has commenced already bearing fruit. Two negro preachers the other day in Louisiana were preaching this negro equality, and they were promptly dispatched on further, and it will ever be thus.

Harding says the World War brought us to a full recognition of the fact that the race problem is national rather than sectional. It was not the World War altogether that has done this. He said that the negro was attracted to the north and west by high wages offered during the war, but the real thing that brought this about was before every presidential election, since the war between the north and the south there has been agents—low class men—sent south by the Republican party to work among the negroes, offering them great inducements to lure them north for their votes, and not that they cared for the negro's welfare. Of course, some come back, but a lot stayed, because they had no means by which to get back, and the ones who did come back, had to write to their "white folks" in the south, as they call us, for a ticket. And the result is there are more negroes in the north than they want—they are making trouble.

We have never had such conditions in any place in the south with the negro, as they have had and do have in Chicago, and the Digest says he had the courage to come in the very heart of the south where the negro question is the bitterest. There is no bitterness in the south with the negro. If the dirty office-seeking Republican will let the south alone, we will manage the negro. We always have done it, and when you hear from us again we will be still doing it.

Now that the women have the vote I venture to say they will stand solidly together against negro equality, regardless of party, or politics, north and south. The Digest says the south will have no quarrel with the president upon his address even if the speech was greeted in a measure of silence. Do not fool yourselves in this; they have treated it with utter contempt; they cannot do the case justice; there are not words for decent people to express themselves in regard to it—and to think he had so little forethought and discretion! Do not think for a moment that he didn't stir up all the true southern blood of the south, and that southern women will ever stand for the placing of negroes in office over them, and our cubinage will stand true to us we know. We will never be subject to taking orders from negroes, as some of your northern women are having to do now, and the yoke of dirty politicians is very galling to them. I concur with Senator Hefflin of Alabama, as far as the south is concerned, "God almighty has fixed limits and boundary lines between the two races, and no Republican living can improve upon his handiwork."

And now this anti-lynching bill they have gotten up is a thrust at the south, and they had better look out—if they sow the wind they will reap the whirlwind. There have been more killings and lynchings of negroes in the north (according to the negro population) than there have been in the south. The southern people are far more lenient with the negro than the north is. They have schools all over the south, and here in our town they are better equipped and have more comfortable houses for their schools than the white people have, and they have as good churches and better houses for their preachers to live in than we do, and we people have built them, and not one dollar has gone in them from the dirty politicians who are howling about giving the negro his rights.

Congress had better get down to business and do something worth while for our country (and not fiddling while Rome burns). There has been nothing done yet to get the people to settle down to work. Everything that the Republicans have done (I say Republicans because they are in the majority) is to stir up strife, and there is one Democrat that ought to be thrust out. The good Republicans and good Democrats would do something, I think, if they could. If it is not stopped our country will go into bankruptcy. The people need to go to work at something, and not be waiting around like so many vultures trying to get something out of the government. It is a shame for America, which has had such a good reputation, to be brought so low in the eyes of the world, as it is being done, and I appeal to all good men and women to rise in their might and strength of the Lord for help to put the right kind of men and women, too, in power who will work for the right and righteous laws of our state and United States.

MRS. E. C. YATES.

United States "Social Equality" and the Negro

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

The Nation 1/25/22

SIR: I agree with your opinion of Mr. Harding's speech on the Negro question, both as to its merits and its defects. I think it is beyond the province of a President to advocate race-separatism within the citizenry which has elected him. Veil it verbally as one may, racial separatism inside a nation whose territory is a geographical unit works toward caste distinction, one caste claiming superiority over another. Moreover, is it well for any human group to repel any other from its association, without regard to individual character, personal behavior, or mental equipment? It is time to face squarely this question of so-called "social equality"—time to let the world (and its presidents) know that there are white Americans who are determined to do what they can to unite socially all the diverse racial elements in this country. We make no apologies for our action. We invite into our own parlors and visit in theirs whomsoever we find agreeable. We are thereby pleasing ourselves and we believe that we are promoting the welfare of America.

What does Mr. Harding mean by declaring "amalgamation" of the races to be "impossible"? There are now many millions of persons in this hemisphere whose existence is due to "amalgamation." The fact that this mixture is largely the result of illicit relationship proves, mainly, that the natural impulse toward mingling is too strong to be repressed by social or legal prohibition. Law and custom can only guide and regulate it. At present, all the world over, the white man seeks the dark woman by demoralizing and brutal methods vastly more than the dark man seeks the white woman in any way. It is the opinion of many close students of the situation that the imposition of arbitrary obstacles to legal union offers such large opportunity for and temptation to illicit connection that it promotes a more frequent and less desirable miscegenation than would occur were no barrier of law or custom erected between the races. The assertion that African and white race-mixture produces an inferior human stock is not warranted by the facts. Illegitimacy, however, does surround childhood with a degrading environment. American children are entitled to legitimate birth and the possession of openly avowed fathers.

Albion, R. I., December 19 LILLIE BUFFUM CHACE WYMAN
RUSSELL AND THE NEGRO.

The white man who takes part in the lynching of a negro, much as the mob merits condemnation, is not nearly so effective an enemy of the colored race in this country as many of the ilk of Charles Edward Russell, Socialist writer and lecturer of some fame, who has gone so far as to publicly challenge President Harding to produce "any photograph or any other kind of picture of the impassable gulf between the white and black races which he said existed," and furthermore is quoted as having declared that no microscope could detect the slightest difference between the blood of whites and negroes and that this proved "that man is man, regardless of the color of his skin."

The challenge and the declarations are reported to have been contained in an address delivered in New York at the annual meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

In the first place, Russell is attacking a President who has led the colored people to believe he is their friend and whose address a few months ago at Birmingham brought him criticism on the

ground that it was calculated to encourage in the negro ambitions for social and political equality. If Russell were the sort of friend to the negro he would have the colored man believe he is, he would not thus attack President Harding.

In the next place, Russell deals in argument that has nothing to do with the question of political or social equality between the races, both of which evidently he would encourage. What have photographs and microscopes to do with the question?

But it is and has been men of the Russell type, a Socialist by the way, like Debs, that have done more and are doing more than anybody else in this country, white or black, to hurt the cause of the negro and to stir up racial strife, which always results in more of harm than of good to the cause of the black race. The negro race, especially the thoughtful, intelligent, well-informed and peace-loving part of the race, should pray for deliverance from such "friends" as Charles Edward Russell.

Race Problem—1922.

United States—Book Reviews.

The Chicago Plan

The Chicago Plan of solving the race problem will be praised in the North and damned in the South.

Following the Chicago riot of July 27th, 1919 Governor Lowden of Illinois appointed a commission of six colored and six white men "to study and report upon the broad question of the relations between the races." Under the title of the "Negro in Chicago, a Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot" this Commission made public its report recently in a volume of 672 pages, printed by the University of Chicago Press and placed on sale at \$6 a copy.

"To say that we cannot solve this problem is to confess the failure of self-government," Governor Lowden declared in setting his commissioners to work, and the commissioners did not disappoint him. The recommendations of the Commission, which we term the "Chicago plan" constitute the most effective and far-reaching contribution to the subject of race relations ever published in America.

Here are some of them: 10/17/22

Whites are urged:

To see that Negroes are on the police force; to punish white criminals when they commit crimes against Negroes; to treat Negro cases in court with less facetiousness; to give equal school accommodations in the colored sections; compel attendance of colored children; to stop raising rents as soon as Negroes become tenants; to improve housing where colored people live without segregation; to admit Negroes as members of unions and stop employing them as strike-breakers; to pay workers on the basis of efficiency rather than color; to grant Negroes the same treatment in restaurants and public places as other citizens; to feature other news concerning colored people besides crime; to have both churches and schools promote racial contacts and better feelings.

Negroes are urged:

To contribute more freely to social agencies among their group; to undertake vice prevention work among boys and girls; to protest vigorously against vice resorts in their neighborhoods; to promulgate sound racial doctrines among the uneducated; to cease thinking and talking too much in terms of race; to guard against establishment of separate unions in trades where existing unions admit Negroes to equal membership with whites; to avail themselves of every opportunity to learn skilled trades both in schools and by apprenticeship, to abandon use of sensational articles and headlines in newspapers on the race question; to abandon the practice of drawing wages in advance and of laying off from work without good cause.

This is the Chicago Plan. Will Chicago have the courage to put it into operation? We think it will for one of the recommendations of the Commission is the appointment of a permanent state commission on race relations.

The Chicago Plan will solve the race problem. There are only two other solutions probable. One of them is to deport all the colored people to Africa or Texas, and the

other is to get to work on a lotion which will change a black skin into a white one overnight.

SPARTANBURG S C JOURNAL OCTOBER 9, 1922 THE GULLAH NEGRO OF THE COAST

"The Black Border:—Gullah Stories of the Carolina Coast (With a Glossary), by Ambrose E. Gonzales. Columbia, S. C., The State Company."

This is the title page of the most remarkable contribution to the literature of the period; remarkable because of its text and its artistic treatment, because of its high literary quality, its philological interest, the many wonderful descriptive passages in which it abounds, the exactness with which the beauty and pathos of a civilization that has passed away and for which there can be no resurrection are portrayed, and the true relation of master and slave under the old dispensation in South Carolina. In his "Foreword," after describing how the Portuguese and Spanish traders had introduced the curse of human slavery into this Western World, and how it proved so profitable that the envious English soon engaged in the traffic, Mr. Gonzales says this:

"After the institution had become firmly established, the New England eye, not lacking 'speculation,' saw the promise of the East, and New England, pocketing her prayer book while pouching her musket balls, freighted her bluff-bowed ships with red flannel and glass beads with which to accentuate, if not to clothe, the heathen nakedness, and set sail for the rising sun. . . . For a hundred and fifty years Rhode Island and Massachusetts competed successfully with England for the North American trade, and these Colonies (with 'God's grace') thrived exceedingly. In the early years of the last century, however, the importation of slaves was interdicted, and the last Yankee slaver converted the last rum-bought slave into cash, then, converting himself, he became an Abolitionist, and the well-known 'New England conscience' was developed."

"But the Puritan slaver, whatever woes unnumbered he brought upon his own race, was, in transferring these bought or stolen blacks to the humane Cavalier planters of the South, an unconscious benefactor to thousands of Negro captives and to millions of their descendants, whose masters gave them Christianity and such a measure of civilization, that, in the short space of two hundred years from the cannibal savagery of the stew-pot and the spit, they were fitted, in the New England mind, at least, for manhood suffrage, which

came to enlightened England only after more than a thousand years of development."

It is not known exactly whence the Gullah Negroes of the Carolina coast came. Students like John Bennett, of Charleston, who has done some very clever work in writing books, have devoted much time to the subject, trying to establish their tribal origin, but without reaching any very definite conclusion; but they are "a peculiar people" and in this book Mr. Gonzales has described them and their habits and superstitions and manners and customs and their worshipful loyalty to their old masters in the days of slavery and their respect for the descendants in such admirable spirit as must commend his work to the serious consideration of the most vociferous, if least dependable, of the Negro's friends from the other side of the old Line.

There are forty-two stories in this book, fourteen of which were written and printed in the Columbia State in the Spring of 1892. The remaining twenty-eight were written and published in the year 1913. One of the best and "truest to life," and at the same time of the highest quality of unconscious humor, in which old Joe Fields, 53 years after the War which set him free, boasted "of the prowess and attainments of his former master, Duncan Clinch Heyward, some time Governor of South Carolina." The title of this story is "My Maussuh," and this extract will give appreciative readers a taste of the exquisite charm of the Gullah Negro's devotion to his former owner and the accurate judgment, possibly, of the Governor's predilection to hard labor:

"Enty yo' maussuh wu'k, Joe?"
"Who? My Maussuh? Mass Clinch? 'Ooman, you mus' be fool! Enty wunnuh know him duh quality? You ebbuh yeddy 'bout quality? uh him haffuh wu'k? as those of the bull moose that once No. . . . him hab him ob'shay, Mistuh Jokuk, fuh wu'k. My Maussuh tok 'e pdejuh. 'E ride hawss, e eat ricebu'd en' summuh duck en' 'ing. Him hab t'irteen plantesshun buntop Cumbie Ribbuh. Him plant eb'n t'ous'n acre' rice."
"Hukkuh yo' maussuh plant all lat rice en' t'ing ef 'e yent wu'k?"

"Enty i tell wunnuh him lib een Walterburruh? Duh summuh time e does dribe duh plntesshun now n' den fuh see how him crap stan'. Him dribe two hawss, en' de buckle n' 'e haa'nness shine lukkuh gol'. One nigguh duh seddown behine 'e vid all two 'e han' fo' befor'um ukkuh hog tie. Mass Clinch hat n' one kid glub 'pun 'e han' wuh ome to 'e elbow. W'en 'e git Cumbie, 'e light out 'e buggy. Tree nigguh' run foh hol' 'e hawss' head. Mistuh Jokok mek'um uk low bow. Mass Clinch iz uh berry mannus-ubble Juntlemun. alldo' him iz quality, en' him 'spon' to de bow. Den 'e biggin fuh walk. Him hab hisuh rich walk! Den 'e cock e hat one side 'e head. You nebbuh nobody kin cock 'e hat stylish lukkuh Mass Clinch. Den 'e onbutt'n e weskit. 'E hit 'e lef han' een 'e britchiz pocket, en' swing 'e walkin' stick een 'e right han', en' biggin fuh quizzit him qb'shay. By did time 'e git 'punto de baa'nyaa'd mill en look obuh 'e field'.

"Jokuk," 'e say, 'dat de stretch how you got on my rice, enty?"

"No, suh. We gwine hab some fuh dinnuh."

"Wuh else you got fuh eat?"
Maussuh quittit 'um.

"We got one cootuh soup mek out'uh tarryin' wuh been een one pen duh fasten 'pun gritch en' t'ing, en' t'ing en' one trout fish, en' summuh duck."

"You hab enny mint?"

"Yaas, suh, we hab 'nuf."

"Berry well, mek we a few julip, 'e say. 'You got enny mo' pawtun' bidness dat 'quire my 'tenshun?"

"Yaas, suh; snake hole en' crawfish en' t'ing spile one uh we bank, en' de trunk blow out, en' uh hab uh berry bad break, en' Cumbie ribbuh comin' een de field'. You wantuh shum, suh?"

"No, I t'eng'k you," 'e say. 'Leh de ribbuh tek 'e co'se. Leh we eat."

"W'en 'e gitt'ru 'e bittle, 'e hab 'e fo' hawss' hitch up, en' Mistuh Jokuk pit two-t'ree bag uh cootuh en' ricebu'd en' summuh duck een him cyaaridge, en' 'e gone spang Walterburruh, same lukkuh bu'd fluy! Da' duh my Maussuh!"

That is humor, and we are sure that Governor Heyward will realize the fine points of the story and laugh over it with as hearty spirit as his best neighbors. What follows about "Old Pickett" is pathos:

"Old Pickett had now passed her twenty-fifth year, and day by day became sadder and wiser. She accepted her daily tasks with resignation, but not with enthusiasm. The sockets above her weary eyes grew deeper, and white hairs thickened among the tawny pelage about her brow. Her ears, once so erect and responsive to all the sounds of the world about her, now flopped dejectedly like an unstarched 'cracker' sunbonnet. Her lips, as pendulous as those of the bull moose that once tried to bite the Faunal Naturalist, hung lower and lower, and the hour drew near when she must shuffle off the mortal harness she had worn so long. Her eyes had looked upon smiling Peace, upon grim War, and—under Reconstruction, the once proud planters on foot and their quondam slaves on horseback—"

was time to go. Turned out in the money fuh t'row een nigguh' lap? pasture to spend her last days in W'en I binnuh boy en' you t'row uh idleness, she walked listlessly about, 'ooman uh fifty cent, 'e t'ink 'e rich, cropping here and there a bunch of but I bin all dat week wid one cum-tender grass, while she waited for p'ny uh dese yuh rich Nyankee the summons. When it came, and buckruh' dat Mr. FitzSimmun had she lay down to rise no more, ayuh fuh shoot, en' dem buckruh' black spot, slowly circling in the t'row me fibe dolluh bill same luk-sky, swooped, and, on a lower level, kuh dem bin dime! W'en I t'row sailed again in narrowing circles. de money in de 'oman lap, en pit de Then keen eyes of other questing todduh t'in wuh I fetch 'pun he flo' vultures, miles away, watched the Mary nebbuh crack 'e teet'. I drop, and followed. From the four ax'um'smattuh mek'um stan' so? 'E corners of the heavens they came, mek ansuh, 'nuttin'. Nex' day de and, alighting on rail fence and 'ooman keep on same fashi'n. 'E blasted pine, or hovering low on nebbuh crack 'e bre't. I quizzit'um shadowy wings, they watched and gen. I ax'um 'smattuh 'long'um. waited, until at last Old Pickett's Him say, 'nuttin'. Den I say 'berry glazing eyes told them that her well den. Monday mawnin' I tek heart and her heels were stilled for- ne gun, I call me dog en' den I talk ever.

"A month or two later, in the Au- to do 'ooman. I say, 'Mary, I gwine tun, when the family returned to the uh ribbuh, en' I gwine come back the plantation from the pineland Sat'd'y two week'. I dunno 'smat- village, the boy reproached the ne- uh mek you stan' so, but I know groes for not having given Old Pick- uh de debole dey een you. No ett decent sepulture, and two of bom' i wuh tie'up 'e mout', en' them were induced to gather up her w'en I come bacg las' Sat'd'y two whitened bones and bury them in a week', I gwine 'tarrygate you one shallow grave at the edge of the no'time, en' I gwine ax you 'smat- ante-bellum 'horse burying ground, uh mek you stan' so, en' c' oonuh where the old family horses rested till ee' de same min' ez now, den under the live-oaks. The negroes ne-nuh you 'at'.

could not understand the boy's emo- "Well, suh, Sat'd'y two week', I tion as the clouds fell on the bones gone back en' I say, 'Well, Mary, I of the faithful old mule. 'Eh, eh, come 'bout'um 'uh you got fuh buckruh boy too commikil. Him say? Him mew: 'Ent 'nuttin' duh cry 'cause mule dead!' They bout'um. Yent got nutt'n fuh say."

did not know that the passing of Old Den I tell'um 'berry well den, I gone Pickett severed a link with the my way en' you tek you'n. Now, Mary, I yent no Wanderbilt fuh gi' you fibe t'ousan' dolluh' allimunny fuh lib off, so yuh is free fuh lib

me gun, I call me dog, en' I gone." "d'n to yo' own min', en' I is free fuh do ez I please." Den I tek me gun, I call me dog, en' I gone."

That was how Jim Moultrie got his divorce. "Ooman gishuh cun- trady t'ing, dem nebbuh know w'en dem well off." That also illustrates, we should say, the Gullah Negro's sense of absolute justice.

And this quotation, which we take from Mr. Gonzales' story of the chase of "The Lost Buck," is literature:

"One of the standers, well-mounted, took up a distant pass at Elliott's Wells, the site of a settle- ment abandoned many generations ago. Concealing his horse in a thicket at the rear of the stand, he returned to the knoll, stood in front of a great pine, a giant among its fellows, and listened for the cry of the pack. But listening was difficult and no cry came to his ears. The wind was high, and, singing among the pinetops like aeolian harps, rose and swelled and softened and died away, now whispering of the wold with its peaceful sheep, and quiet meadows where cattle grazed, now thundering of stormswep mountain tops and the break of ocean surges on rockbound coasts, and again soft- ened to the lap of sluggish wavelets on the shining shores of placid bays, and sighing told of those that grieved, and shrieked with the an- guish of those that suffered, and softened again with the laughter of little children, and told the myriad stories and waked the thousand memories that the weird and myste- rious songs of the wind among the

piners bring to those whose hearts are attuned to nature. More than once the stander stood at attention, thinking he heard the cry of a dis- tant hound, but, with a lull in the wind, the aural will-o'-the-wisp was gone, so misleading are the wind- sounds to even the trained ear. An hour passed. Two hours—but only the wind was heard, no bay of dog, no blast of horn betraying the pres- ence of hunter or hound anywhere in the great expanse of forest.

"Not far away was an old grave- yard, one of the old Colonial vil- lages of the dead occasionally found in the low-country forests. The let- tering on the marble slabs that cov- ered the eternal sleepers revealed them as members of important fam- ilies, many of them children who died of fever during the summer months before the days of quinine, deep wells and wire screens. The stander, while listening for the cry of the pack, read the lichen-covered inscriptions on the tombs and mused like Gray and Omar. With a whim- sical smile, he looked at the tower- ing crown of a great water-oak deep-rooted in the mould of a stout- hearted Seventeenth Century squire

—a 'five-bottle man,' perhaps, and marvelled at the alchemy of nature that could, from Madeira, Port and old Jamaica Rum, resolve a dew to nourish a Water Oak! Then, with ineffable sadness, he read the brief life-stories of God's little children, 'Mary,' 'Anne,' 'William,' 'beloved daughter,' 'beloved son,' 'of—and—his wife,' 'died August, 171—,' 'died September, 172—.' A cherub deep-carved in the marble; the line, 'Suffer little children to come unto Me,' no more! Seven, eight genera- tions of men and women had lived their lives and passed since these little children were taken home 200 years ago! Yet, how near the trag- edy seemed! The father returning from field or forest to find the mother in agony over the stricken child, no doctor, no ice, no effective medicines. The brilliant eyes, the burning cheeks, delirium, the end. The little mound in the woodland, wet with a mother's tears, the carver's chisel in the marble—and that was all. So men and women lived, and little children died—two hundred years ago!"

In the pages of this book the Manigos and Middletuns and Kin- laws and Chizzums and Fitzsim- monses and Rag'nels and Pushays monses and Rab'nels and Pushays and Heywuds and all the rest of the "quality" folks are paraded once more in most impressive array until one wonders at the genius of the story-teller who has clothed them with life again as in imitation of the buckruh they live with distinc- tion among their Gullah fellows. The value of this work of Mr. Gon- zales to students of what Lawyer Sam Dickerson called "de English langwidge" cannot be overestimated.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
OCTOBER 17, 1922
A SOUTHERN VIEW OF OUR NEGRO PROBLEM.

Chicago, Oct. 11.—The report of the committee appointed by the University of Chicago to consider the status of the Negro in Chicago and make recommen- dation for his welfare and better treat- ment has been published, and should have the careful consideration of thoughtful and responsible citizens. The essence of the report is that white peo- ple should forget that the Negro is black and treat him as if he were white, per- mitting no discriminations. It especial- ly encourages a mingling of the races the assumption being that if the Negro could bleach his skin and straighten his hair he would be a white man. The menace of such a sentiment is at once seen by any one who has had any ex- perience with and given any thought to the Negro race, for it holds out false hopes to the Negro, and turns him from a useful and kindly person into a self- assertive and overbearing and arrogant one.

The net effect of the report will be the creation of race prejudice and a further deepening of the prejudice which already exists.

If the Negro was the same as the white man, save the pigment in his blood, would he not have established some de- gree of civilization in Africa? For un- counted aeons he has lived there, but ex- cept where brought under the dominion of the white man, he remains the same untutored savage as when his race be- gan. No single ascent has he made in the scale of human progress, in science, government or religion.

Most of the Negroes who have risen above the grade of servitors, Booker Washington, Fred Douglass, and many more that might be mentioned, have done so because of the white blood in their veins.

The Negro's progress is only possible when he remains a Negro. When he tries to become a white man his true progress ceases and his troubles begin. Some minor circumstances lights the spark to the tinder that has been piling up all these years and then comes the horrible conflagration.

But it will be said, the Negro is here, what shall we do with him? First of all, neither by legislation nor by inti- mation of any kind should he be given the thought that he is ever to associate with white people on terms of equality. Let him understand that God created him as a Negro, that he is to remain a Negro and that as a Negro the whites will give him every assistance and encouragement to better his condition. The Negro gen- eral' is industrious, but he is thrif- tles. His earnings are squandered and he does not know how to save.

Teach him, therefore, the value

of a home for his family. Incul- cate in him loyalty to employers, honesty in purpose, and encourage him to be- lieve that politicians who promise him his "rights" are his worst enemies. En- courage his activity in politics, where he is but a pawn for the intriguing, corrupt ward healer. Build him schools, fitted for his capability and aptitude. Give him amusement places, wholesome but of the kind that he will respond to. Teach

him the value of order and obedience to constituted authority. R. I. B.

Race Problem—1922.

United States.—Book Reviews.

The Reds in the United States

ORDERS FROM RUSSIA DIRECT THE CAMPAIGN NOW CARRIED ON HERE

The 'Underground Party' and Its Purposes—Efforts to Bore Into Army and Navy—Much Money Spent on Negroes—Activity in Coal and Railway Strikes—'Mass Action' and 'Armed Insurrection' Two Slogans.

NEW YORK HERALD
NOVEMBER 4, 1922
FIRST ARTICLE.

MANY thousands of men and women in this country are working industriously, aggressively and persistently in the blind hope of overthrowing the Government.

They are working under explicit and very full instructions from the Soviet Government of Russia. Evidence that proves this, and abundantly, is in the hands of the agents of the Department of Justice in this and other important cities, and a large store of confirmatory material has been forwarded to Washington.

Twenty of these plotters, headed by William Z. Foster, who directed the steel strike of 1919, are to go to trial in Michigan next month. Of this effort, made by the Communists in America, Chief Justice Thompson of the Supreme Court of Illinois recently said:

"The doctrines advocated are not harmless—they are a menace, and it behooves Americans to be on their guard to meet and combat the movement, which, if permitted to progress as contemplated, may undermine and endanger our cherished institutions."

Directed by Soviet Rulers.

These plotters and schemers belong to the Communist party or its affiliates and are directed by Lenin and Trotsky. The movement is considered dangerous and menacing by the Federal authorities at Washington, but it lacks proper conditions to thrive and become formidable. The leaders chosen to carry out this pre-tentious program would move quickly and vigorously if the opportunity they are trying to force should come.

Preaching, teaching, training and organizing, the anti-Americans are hoping for an opportune moment to precipitate a nationwide struggle. Two very serious obstacles have been encountered by the head men of this campaign and these have held them in check:

First, they have failed to make a

favorable impression on millions of true Americans, who, though poor in worldly goods, believe they have the best country and the fairest Government in the world, and, second, they fear the laws of State and nation.

Evidence in Documents.

Reports from Federal officials assigned to the Communist groups support the foregoing statements, with communications and documents from Russian headquarters. The American leaders in this seditious movement come from the anarchists, the Industrial Workers of the World, the Left Wing Socialists and other ultraradical groups.

The most accurate estimate of the number of these Communist agitators and their followers is from 400,000 to 500,000. Many of these followers are innocent of the real purpose of their

leaders, but they are against the present state of affairs. They do not realize that their platform of principles would destroy the Republic and put in its place a "Workers' Republic."

Organization of Workers.

Briefly, the Communists would "abolish the capitalist state," "seize the instruments of production and distribution," and establish the "dictatorship of the proletariat." They would organize all non-unionized workers, enter the existing unions and "bore from within" to break them up and then unite the laboring class against the capitalist class. Every move is made to the end of the destruction of the "capitalist state" and the establishment of the "Workers' Republic."

In a series of articles to be published daily, of which this is the first, THE NEW YORK HERALD will tell the interesting story of the aims and purposes of this effort and of the activities of these Communists. The articles will give the names of many of the leaders. They will contain the texts of their own platforms and documents, and they will show that the whole effort was devised and is being directed in Moscow.

The Communist Program.

The Communist program of the Workers party of America, with many similar organizations, cooperating with it or actually under its guiding hand, runs like this:

1. Adopt Russia as a model and stick to it.
2. Achieve your purpose by having the masses rise up and rebel against private ownership of capitalists and landlords in modern society.
3. Nationalize all industrial establishments and declare the land the property of the nation, to be used only by those who work it with their own hands.

To bring about these results the American Communists are advised by Moscow to "organize a strong party in the working class, start a revolution and seize the power of State."

Growth of Communists.

The Communist group in this country has sprung up and flourished since the world war. It is composed largely of foreigners, many thousands of Russians being active members. Prior to and during the war elements which now form the "locals" of the Communist party belonged to the foreign language federations of the Socialist party of America.

A factional fight, inspired by the Communists, split the Socialist party into the right and left wings. This accounts for the great falling off in the straight Socialist vote in the recent election. The left wing is cooperating with the Communists, while the right wing (the conservative Socialist) still believes in the ballot box as the means of changing administrations. The left

wing and its new associates would establish a new form of Government.

Upon his arrival in this country the Russian Communist began to run roughshod over all other radicals. The old Socialist party, which had polled a very large vote in the previous Presidential elections, was soon shot to pieces.

Birth of the Left Wing.

The first Russian All-Colonial convention, held in 1918, gave birth to the United Left Wing in the United States. A little later the Communist Propaganda League was organized and the next day the Revolutionary Age was established. The purpose of the new organization and its organ was to fight the Conservative Socialist. From that time on the "boring from within" process was carried on in the Socialist party. Aided by the onrushing Russians the "Left Wing" was getting the better of the more conservative group.

Early in 1919 the Left Wing was fairly well organized and ready to launch an independent, or Communist drive. It was made up of Communists and English radicals. It had the sympathy of the Russian, Lettish, Lithuanian, Polish, Ukrainian, South Slavic, Hungarian and Esthonian federations of the old Socialist party, comprising about 25,000 members. The English radicals issued a manifesto.

Department of Justice officials have ascertained that the principles adopted by the Third International were embodied in the manifesto of this American Left Wing group. Soon Left Wingers and Russian Reds were united in one busy camp with a single end in view. Agents of Lenin and his lieutenants were the actual leaders in this movement. In the course of a few months the Left Wingers had a factional dispute, resulting in "conservative" and "radical" groups.

Wings Forced to Unite.

Representatives of the bolting red groups met and held the first national convention of the "Communist party of America." About the same time another group of the Left Wing met at the recruiting union of the I. W. W., Chicago, in the "first convention of the Communist Labor party of America." Communist leaders at Moscow forced these two radical organizations to unite, as they were operating under the Third International, which prohibits factions. A very bitter controversy took place between the leaders of these red groups before the ultimatum from Moscow stopped it. Men active in this Communist movement were Charles E. Ruthenberg, L. E. Katterfield, Alexander Bilan, Jack Carney, Edward Lindgren, Max Bedacht and A. Wagenknecht.

The Communist Labor party had every willing, unattached element in the favor of Ludwig Martens, the then Soviet Envoy to this country. Against capitalism and the "capitalist State." It has used disasters, hard times, bad conditions and other unusual emergencies to forward its propo-

party of America" was arranged at Moscow through Reed and Fraina. The parties were united early in 1920. The leaders would never have consented to a consolidation had not the Third International "read the riot act" to them and warned that it would not support either if the row was not ended.

Orders From Moscow.

A letter dated Moscow, January, 12, 1920, and signed by Zinoviev (Apfelbaum), president of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, instructing the two parties to unite, stated that the Executive Committee of the Communist International concluded thus:

"This split (between the Communist party and the Communist Labor party) has rendered a heavy blow to the Communist movement in America. It leads to the dispersion of revolutionary force, a harmful parallelism, an absurd partition of practical work, senseless discussions and an unjustifiable loss of energy in interfactional quarrels. A concentration of American bourgeois forces has increased to an unprecedented extent while the class struggle is becoming more acute every day and demands unprecedented sacrifices from the American proletariat. The world revolution is inexorably growing; great possibilities and brilliant perspectives are opening up before the American proletariat; this is not the time for division of Communist forces.

"In so far as both parties stand on the platform of the Communist International—and of this we have not the slightest doubt—a united party is not only possible, but is absolutely necessary and the executive committee categorically insists on this being immediately brought about."

Temporarily Broken by Raid.

The union of these two forces marked the beginning of the American Communist movement that grew rapidly until it was temporarily broken up by a raid which resulted in the arrest of a large number of foreigners, many of whom were deported to Russia. After that, the Communists organized the Workers Party of America, a "legal" or "open" organization. Approximately 100 different associations of radicals joined this party, which was launched in this city in December of last year.

There is serious doubt as to the legality of the "Workers Party of America," for it has been established beyond reason of doubt that it is nothing less than "the above ground" wing of the "illegal" Communist Party. Certain courts have held that the two parties are one and the same in principle and effect.

The Workers Party has organized the United States for a united front against capitalism and the "capitalist State." It has used disasters, hard times, bad conditions and other unusual emergencies to forward its propo-

ganda.

Race Hatred Fomented.

It has tried to incite the negro race to rise against the whites. Much money and unlimited energy have been expended to that end, and that a little something in the way of results has come from this effort to "bore into" the negroes in the United States is evidenced by the fact that only a few days ago an American negro, transported to Moscow at Soviet expense, addressed the Third Internationale in the Russian capital saying that "A form of slavery actually exists to-day in the Southern States. American negroes are in a most unhappy condition, and instinctively feel that their route to liberation lies with Moscow."

Agents have been sent into country districts to make the farmer dissatisfied.

Clever organizers are in the American Federation of Labor unions, "boring from within." This feature of the program for "one big union" for a general strike and "mass action" when the time comes is led by William Z. Foster, the reddest of the reds. Foster admits, even boasts, that he is trying to destroy the Samuel Gompers "bureaucracy." He asserts that under such leadership as Gompers and Frank Morrison the workers will never get their just deserts. But little success has attended the effort to contaminate the American Federation of Labor.

Working in Schools.

Part of the Red Radical game is to enter the schools, the churches and the universities with their revolutionary doctrine. The files of Federal agents show that this feature of the program is being carried out by very clever Communists.

The Russian famine has been successfully used to secure funds and spread propaganda for the cause of Communism in Russia and the United States. Secretary Hoover, who has charge of the American drive for famine stricken Russians, saw fit to warn against the activities of the friends of Soviet Russia who started out to collect money in this country.

Rich men and women with Socialistic tendencies have been used for the formation of parlor Bolshevism.

More than a half hundred boys from Russia entered one Western university. These came via Mexico and their expenses are defrayed by the Soviet Government.

The Communist organizations have more than 200 newspapers, most of which are active and extremely radical.

Active in Recent Strikes.

Red radical leaders were very active in the recent coal and railroad strikes. They fomented trouble wherever possible. Government agents were close on their heels and kept them busy. Efforts were made to bring about a general strike. Evidence in the possession of District Attorneys in strike

regions convinced the Washington authorities that the Communists were responsible for much of the trouble in the coal fields and along the roads. Down with the parliamentary sham of capitalism! Hail to the Soviets and real working class democracy!

Within the last ten days one of the leaders in the Workers Party campaign in 1921 and this year was sentenced to prison for violating the anti-syndicalism law of Illinois. Charles Krumborn is the man. He was organizer for the Chicago district of the Workers Party. Others are now in jail at various places.

The Communists of Russia actually sent men and instructions here to attempt to undermine the United States army and navy. The activities of these reds became so open that Secretaries Weeks and Denby appealed to the men of their respective departments to stamp out the radical sentiment and supporters. Moscow told the reds to enlist in the army and navy and prepare them for a revolution. The program was to urge them to become disloyal. The details of these activities, sketchily outlined above, will be given fully in articles that are to follow.

Communist Policy in Nutshell.

Here is the Communist policy in a nutshell, as expressed at Moscow and forwarded to America:

"The Communist party should strive to unite in its ranks all those elements which recognize the necessity for seizing power and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"It is particularly necessary to remember that the stage of verbal propaganda and agitation has been left behind; the time for decisive battle has arrived.

"Cooperating in hastening the process of dissolution of the American Federation of Labor and other craft unions associated with it, the party must strive to establish the closest connection with those working class economic organizations in which industrial unionist tendencies are being manifested.

"The executive committee urges the American comrades immediately to establish an underground organization, even though it is possible for the party to function legally. This underground organization shall be for the purpose of carrying on direct revolutionary propaganda among the masses and in case of violent suppression of the legal party organization, of carrying on the work. It should be composed of trusted comrades and kept entirely separate from the legal party organization. The fewer people who know about it the better."

This was written by Zinoviev, president of the executive committee of the Communist Internationale.

Mass Action Described.

The official program of the Communist party describes "mass action" and tells of interest in elections. Here are quotations:

"The United Communist party participated in election campaigns and parliamentary action only for the pur-

pose of revolutionary propaganda. Down with the parliamentary sham of capitalism! Hail to the Soviets and real working class democracy!

"It is through revolutionary mass actions of the working class that the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist State will be waged and the proletarian Government established.

"At an advanced stage of the class struggle the capitalists realize the futility of other means and resort to widespread use of the armed power of the State. The capitalist Government then functions openly as a military dictatorship. The working class must then answer force with force.

"The United States Communist party will sympathetically and persistently familiarize the working class with the inevitability of armed force in the proletarian revolution. The working class must be prepared for armed insurrection as the final form of mass action by which the workers shall conquer the State power and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Struggles Against State.

"The workers are compelled to direct their economic struggles against the State and the struggles take on political character.

"The United Communist party participates in the mass strikes of the workers primarily to develop the revolutionary understanding and action through which the workers will achieve Communism.

"The Communists aim to give these struggles direction of conscious organization for the finer struggle, and at the proper time it becomes the vital duty of the Communists to initiate the creation of councils—the Soviets—through which the whole power of the working class can be united into one overwhelming offensive against the capitalistic police and military power.

"The immediate aim of the United Communist party is to overthrow and destroy the capitalistic Government and to establish a working class government.

"No ruling class in history has given up its power without a bitter struggle. The final arbiter in the struggle between the classes which is written across the pages of history is force.

Agitation Among Negroes.

"The United Communist party will carry an agitation among the negro workers to unite them with all class conscious workers.

"The party must find the revolutionary and potential revolutionary elements among the negroes and select those most likely to develop into revolutionary propagandists."

In the unemployment campaign the following demands were made:

"Maintenance of the unemployed on trade union rates of wages.

"Remission of all rents.

"Provisioning by the municipalities.

"Immediate conscription of a

profits.

"Recognition of Soviet Russia and resumption of trade relations at once.

"Stopping all expenditures for armaments.

"Reduction of working hours with no less pay.

"Control of production through shop committees.

"Strike of the employed to end unemployment.

"At a later stage encourage the unemployed to take possession of all food supplies.

"Seize all unoccupied houses and buildings.

"Take possession of all factories, maintaining rigid discipline."

Reds in National Guard.

The Communist party spent considerable money on the outlaw railroad strike in 1920. At that time the Communist leaders considered the advisability of having their men enlist in the National Guard.

These facts were revealed after the arrest of Edward J. Lindgren, active in the Communist Labor and United Communist parties and more recently the Workers party of America. Federal authorities stationed in this city took Lindgren in charge and found in

his rooms several truck loads of papers. Two of his associates, Amter and Jakira, were found at his place, 170 Bleeker street. Papers taken made it clear that the United Communist party was financed from Moscow. They also contained elaborate instructions from Russian headquarters.

THE NEW YORK HERALD will publish to-morrow a complete description of the launching of the Workers Party of America in this city one year ago. The full text of the highly interesting program adopted at that meeting will be included.

"NIGGER"
Afro-American
BOOK CHAT
11-24-22
Baltimore, Md.
BY

Mary White Ovington, Chairman of Board of Directors of the National Association For The Advancement Of Colored People

"Nigger"—A Novel by Clement Wood, Published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York City Price \$2.00. Postage 10c Extra

The theme of this new novel by Clement Wood is that the Negro is not permitted by the white man of Atlanta, where the story is laid, to rise above the status of the title of the novel.

Emancipation, the hope of the older generation, has not brought liberty to the younger. The old

grandmother, before she dies, assures her husband that the emancipation of which he fondly dreamed is only to be found in Heaven. "You been lookin' fer 'mancipation in de life w'ut is; but dis here 'mancipation ain' gwine come till de life to come." And judging from the fate of the colored people in the book she is exactly right.

Out of a family of seven all, in one way or another, fail to live and win happiness. The soldier dying in France, the other soldier killed in America, the ne'er-do-well, the daughter nearly white who for a time goes "over the line" to return home with her baby, the tired drudges, these are her children. To all has come little but suffering. Naturally hers is the cry of the slave, that liberty can only come in another world.

The picture of the white men and women in Mr. Wood's novel makes one understand the fate of the colored. No abolitionist ever painted the white southerner so cruelly as this son of Alabama. His whites are not only cruel to blacks. In his first novel "Mountain" he describes the father of the hero, a rich manufacturer as cruelly beating his little son every morning, day after day, because he has committed a single act of indolence. It seems as though this author meant that we should get out of our minds the picture of the kindly slaveholder, so popular with the earlier southern writers, and remember the overseers who fulfilled the law of the slaveholder and day after day beat the defenseless people within his power.

The whites in Striblings "Birth-right" were cruel, but they had a touch of good nature. They did their cheating with a laugh. There is no laugh in "Nigger" From the time Jake and his family appear upon the scene until the last page when the old man shivers tortured by his memories, there is tragedy.

"Futility," that might be the title of the story. It is futile for a Negro to be educated; it is a futile for him to fight for his country. It is futile to attempt to be white. It is even futile to give up the struggle and be a "no account nigger", for to the ne'er-do-well Tom, the most alive of the figures, comes only sorrow.

Don't expect to be anything but a "nigger", at least in Alabama. That is the gist of the story.

It is evident that the author believes this will not be changed unless we have amalgamation. "As long as either race had as its ambition to remain itself there must be conflict. For equality meant sameness, oneness." So his light colored girl thinks, and, seeing only sorrow ahead, is tempted to kill her light colored child.

Clement Wood has written a great tragedy; and it seems only just that in Birmingham, the city of Octavius Roy Cohen's ridiculous Negro sketches, we should have this dark picture. That it is unduly dark every Negro will feel. But it is a swiftly moving picture of suffering, that flashes across the pages as a moving picture flashes across the screen. Sometimes it is pathetic, sometimes gigantic. No

one can follow it in its swift motion and be unmoved.

Race Problem - 1922

United States - Book Reviews.

THE DEFENDER AND TRIBUNE ON METHODS AND SOCIAL

Thomas Reynolds, Editor, 11-11-22

The Chicago Defender of October 28th carried the picture of a white French girl with Battling Siki's picture carved in her arm, and some of the writing under the cut makes this expression: "These white women, living in the spirit of French belief in equality, liberty and fraternity, are proud to honor their valorous countryman, although he is not white and is just a prize fighter. American chivalry is unable to rise to such heights of honest approbation." This cut and expression were displayed on the front page of The Defender. The Chicago Tribune advises against this method and makes the expression that such practices will lead to a destruction of the Negro in America. The Tribune makes the following statement:

"We call attention to this matter because it illustrates a phase of the race problem as to which we think the colored people are being mischievously misled. Dr. Du Bois and others, black or white, who, in the so-called Niagara movement, and otherwise, have been propagandizing for the removal of social barriers between the whites and blacks, are sowing the wind. Whether the colored leaders like it or not, whether doctrinaires like Oswald Villard approve or not, there is and there will remain a profound instinct against race mixture. It is not a question of chivalry, it is a question of race self-preservation, and if the Negro leaders are willing to destroy their own race identity by intermarriage, white Americans are not. The social equality demanded by this branch of Negro leaders and sympathizers involves intermarriage and intermixture, which will not be tolerated in this country.

To encourage the colored people to seek and demand it is to invite disaster, not to the whites, but to the blacks. It is to foment a racial feeling which can have only a most tragic development, which will make any previous race violence seem paltry.

This ought to be realized by colored leaders, and is realized by some of them. But the preaching of social intercourse in the guise of social equality leads straight to destruction for the Negro in America."

In a signed article by Editor Robert S. Abbott, of The Chicago Defender, in his issue of November 4th, he defends his position and accuses the Tribune of being un-American, that he would accept no advice from a publication that had given encouragement to the Ku Klux Klan by advertising its propaganda and aided in the spread of prejudice of an element of Southern whites against Negroes, and that "The Chicago Defender is a commercial newspaper like the Tribune. Measured by the tests taught by that child of The Tribune, the Medill School of Journalism.

"The cut of the Paris beauty with the Siki silhouette on her arm was run in our columns. The test asked three questions: Is it news? Is it important? Is it true?"

In matters affecting a race and a nation, and especially where social equality or social intermingling is the issue, careful deliberation and a thorough understanding of the matter at hand should be decided upon before any public expression or utterance is made. The right of The Chicago Defender to publish as it did is no question, and that it was a commercial stroke and The Defender profited is also without doubt. It is not always wisdom, nor is it common sense to exercise all the rights and privileges we might have under the law. It is necessary to exercise those rights and privileges when manhood or womanhood is to be sustained and protected. This publication does not question the right of The Defender to publish the picture on October 23th, but we venture the assertion that in the rush of things poor judgment was used in publishing a colored man's picture painted on a white woman's arm. It is not for us to decide, nor would we attempt, as did The Tribune, to discuss the class of woman or the position that she might hold in Paris; it is sufficient to say that it is not to be advocated in our American States, nor is it to be tolerated by either race. It would be just as offensive to the decent colored man or woman to see the picture of a successful colored woman, in whatever avocation it might be, painted on a white man's arm. It was unfortunate that such thing was done and it has not and cannot mean good for the American Negro nor can it mean any good for the American white man. But

in charging The Defender as being indiscreet in this display, it must be remembered that some white publications are more guilty for the very reason this same picture has been published in quite a few of our pictorial magazines and picture sections of our white publications.

The Negro, just a few years from slavery in the hands of a master, is quite imitative. He is likely to follow, in many instances, the practices of the weaker element of white people as he is to follow the examples of the best class and most conservative whites. Our opinion is that the picture is not only distasteful, but carries with it aspects of vulgarity, and while we cannot sanction what The Tribune indicates, that this beauty is of a common stock, the practice is of the sporting kind, loose and frivolous, and certainly indicates the depth of sporting practices. The Chicago Defender is in the class of The Tribune in circulation and editorial expression. The Defender has made its money and reputation by playing up sensational acts. It has studied the psychology of a certain group life and has been pretty correct in its discovery of what an element of this group desires, and, like the white press, it plays up those things that make circulation for it and bring money to the treasury. And this, we say, may have been done without regard to the cost to the race or to the nation. We cannot agree with this practice; we don't believe that any sensible group among us would advocate the agitation of social intermingling as is regarded in Paris. The system, the custom and the laws are different and we frankly believe if the Negro could be let alone and his women not tampered with, the question of social intermingling and the amalgamation of races would cease to be. There are four and a half million mulattoes in America; they are styled as Negroes, they are not Negroes, in fact, they are hardly anything if they are to be identified as a race of people. This four and a half million mulattoes have Negro mothers and their fathers are not black. This practice has been going on continuously for nearly three hundred years; it is tolerated now.

The Birmingham News, in its editorial of November second, called attention to the effect that such a publication might have upon the Negroes. We venture the assertion that not a sensible Negro in this community, this State or the Southland, has been affected to any degree, or has a change of mind as it respects the women of the white race. The Southern Negro, amalgamated as he is, has no desire for an amalgamation and no desire for social intermingling. He would be the happiest individual on earth if he were protected in keeping his womanhood pure and keeping the careless, thoughtless, disrespectful element of the opposite race from exercising its superior liberties over them. The Negro, at heart, in mind and soul is absolutely safe in his desires and purposes in America; he desires only rights and privileges that decent humanity, the laws, the customs and decent society should tolerate.

This publication has long since discovered that there is no such thing as social equality; it is not within races. There are as many groups and as many elevations within the Negro race as there are in any other race. There are societies, there are clubs, there are various organizations that establish their relations; the line is drawn, and as tightly and substantially as it is drawn between races and men. The News in its editorial remarks: "The most troubling thing about many Negroes having some education is the total absence of racial pride." This Negro, if such Negro exists at all, is not an educated Negro, certainly not an intelligent Negro. Every educated Negro and every intelligent one knows and practices race pride as the surest foundation of his manhood. An individual without family or race pride is less to be considered than the commonest of the brutes, and certainly he is not to be tolerated by the leading element and characters of the Negro race. There is a group of individuals uneducated, untrained, without thought, without vision, that may run riot at times in some foolish and unsavory practices, but the intelligent Negro, the trained Negro, the Negro with proper contact is as safe, as sane and has as much respectability as a similar class of white man, and he desires his own and only his own for his pleasure and happiness, and the greatest burden of his heart is that men of elevation seem to misunderstand him and he does not have the protection he is entitled to in this sensible, manly attitude. The Negro is wise enough to know that his social pleasure and such happiness as comes from social intermingling must be with his own kind; he is satisfied to remain in his own ranks and he is not seeking such destructive practices as might be insinuated in The Chicago Defender picture.

CHICAGO ILL. NEWS

SEPTEMBER 28, 1922

For a Chicago Race Commission

Many of the recommendations of the Chicago commission on race relations, whose report The Daily News has been analyzing and carefully summarizing for the benefit of its readers, are addressed, as they naturally must be, to industries, social groups, trade unions, educators, churches and other great institutions. The application of the various remedies or preventives recommended will require time, patience and work. But one of the commission's recommendations—that wisely stressed by Former Governor Lowden in his earnest foreword to the report—is of immediate interest to the state of Illinois or its legislature.

That is the suggestion that a permanent commission on race relations be created by law for Chicago and provided with adequate instrumentalities.

Mr. Lowden informs the public for the first time that the commission on race relations which he appointed did much, by its tactful activities and its advice, to lessen the danger of the recurrence of race riots and disorders after the militia had been withdrawn from Chicago in July, 1919. The commission investigated and removed causes of friction which might have led to serious results. It inquired into alleged grievances and either took steps to have them redressed or else found that they were unduly magnified, and made satisfactory explanations that allayed fear and suspicion.

Since the race question cannot be settled in a year or a decade, and since systematic co-operation of various agencies, steady education, as well as vigilance and disinterested counsel to the authorities, are among the requisites of a lasting solution, the proposal that a permanent commission of representatives of the white and negro races be created for Chicago—and, of course, for other communities should need arise—is manifestly reasonable and practical. It deserves the cordial approval of the enlightened elements of both races. Such approval, given in appropriate ways, could not fail to impress the legislature and cause it to enact the necessary measure.

OCTOBER 4, 1922

Letters From Our Readers

Co-operation With the Negro

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK EVENING POST:

SIR: Allow me to commend you for your editorial in last night's Post, "Chicago and the Negro." It is just such reports as that of the Chicago committee which can do more towards the solution of the problem even than uninformed good will. There are many people who theoretically want to do the right thing, but who never take the trouble to think out the details. Some of these people think the negro has been well and fairly treated, but they are ignorant of such of the unnecessarily annoying discriminations which are still practiced. In connection with my work I have been meeting more and more cultivated negro gentlemen. It is very difficult to find a place to sit down to lunch without risking some unpleasantness.

The New York Urban League is the local organization of the body which attempts to stimulate coöperation between whites and negroes. Members of both races serve jointly on committees and attempt to attack the detailed problems of the so-called negro question. It is interesting to note that these committees find themselves face to face with the general social problems which confront society. The negro problem is not a single problem, but made up of thousands of difficult social problems which are unsolved as yet by society in general. The negro, however, faces the additional aggravation of superficial, though ingrained, prejudice, but the roots of the problems that confront him are the same.

ARTHUR C. HOLDEN.

New York, September 28.

ATLANTA GA CONSTITUTION

SEPTEMBER 24, 1922

"THE BLACK BORDER"

Gullah Stories of Carolina Coast

REVISED BY H. E. HARMAN

Skirting the Georgia and Carolina coasts are numerous fertile islands, many of which before the war were under a high state of cultivation. This section likewise extended inland from the coast, including a considerable part of what is known as the "tidewater" section, above which, as an old saying goes, civilization did not extend.

On these islands and along this coastal littoral were located the extensive rice and cotton plantations of antebellum days. Here was centered wealth, culture and refinement as, perhaps, nowhere else in this country.

A large percentage of slaves brought to this section were what is known as the Gullah negroes, coming from the Liberian group of African tribes. Ambrose E. Gonzales, editor of The Columbia (S. C.) State, has made a close study of these strange people, their peculiar language, and has just published "The Black Border," a most interesting volume, containing their history and some forty-odd stories illustrating their weird life and characteristic traits.

In his "Foreword," Mr. Gonzales tells how, "after the institution of slavery had become firmly established,

it abounds and is noted for the native wit and philosophy of its users."

The forty-two stories which Mr. Gonzales has told in "The Black Border" all deal with this strange language and with the habits, the philosophy and apt sayings of these peculiar people. Mr. Gonzales is a good story-teller, and the average reader will find this book entirely away from the beaten path—something new—something original in the field of letters. This negro dialect is different from that of Thomas Nelson Page, Joel Chandler Harris and others, who have, in a way, immortalized the old-time negro and his quaint philosophy.

Mr. Gonzales has made a notable contribution to our southern literature, which places him among the best of our dialect story-tellers, and the book will, no doubt, be widely read. In it he has preserved a language which has been spoken, over a large area of our southern country, for more than a century, and which, but for "The Black Border," could in time be forgotten. The book contains a glossary compiled with great care, and which will aid the reader very much in understanding the language of these peculiar characters. "The Black Border" is published by The State company, Columbia, S. C.

MISSISSIPPI BISHOP
URGES APPOINTMENT
OF COLORED POLICE

White Southerner Says Order and Decency Would Then Be Maintained

RACES SHOULD CO-OPERATE

Black Leaders Should Be Consulted and Black Men Sent To Legislature

The following is an excerpt from the new book of Rt. Rev. Theodore Bratton, white, Bishop of Mississippi and is furnished by the Rev. George F. Bragg, Jr.

"WHAT OF THE FUTURE?"

" There is but one demand—that laws be honestly administered. But this would involve office-holding? Well, why not if it contribute to mutual interest? Is it true democracy that would leave half of a population (in some communities) unrepresented, all the way from state to policemen of a Negro town?

Can that be Christian, whose approval we ask Lord, but which deprives of the right to guard a sacred trust which God in the homes in which they live.

There are just as many among the Negroes as among whites. They are all forced solidarity for like reasons make the solid South. Neither healthy. Both are based on reasonable prejudice.

Solid White Wall

The solid Negro believes he faces a solid white wall. The solid South believes it faces two solids, North and Negro. In neither case is it true.

Just let somebody begin to do justly, trust the other fellow, and trust, above all, God's power to inject a sense of justice and fair play even where human shortsightedness cannot see, and most of our troubles in this line would evaporate. The problem of trust is at once a community problem and a world problem which only the determined faith which removes mountains can solve.

Every one of our States has some

wise, patriotic Negro leaders who are earnestly studying the problems of race and of State, and who are profoundly anxious that race integrity be maintained and race relations be cordial and mutually helpful. They, and they alone, know the trials and burdens, the achievements and ambitions of their race so perfectly as to witness with authority. Over our entire nation, it is by the white race that the laws are made and executed, that social needs are ministered to, that prisons are administered, and that education is provided, and health and sanitation supervised. There is not a State in which the regulation of civic life would, or could, be turned over to the Negroes.

This lays upon the whites the chivalric obligation of studying, the needs and interests of their Negro fellow-citizens. This can not be done apart from the highly intelligent Negroes.

Should Consult Black Leaders

In our State governments we should have Negro representatives of their race to confer with law-makers as advisers. An hour's conference with two or three of their leaders, chosen for the purpose by their own people, informed and freely representing their interests, would clear the atmosphere of racial misunderstanding, as no debate of a white legislature could do in a whole session.

In our city administration, the white and colored population are, by mutual choice, not by law, segregated; yet, through employment in daily contact, if one member suffer, all members suffer with it—but the Negro, most.

Black Policemen Urged

In many cities, never a peace officer is seen, save AFTER crime has been committed. How much better that his ward of the city be guarded and cared for BEFORE, so that the order and decency which ordinarily prevails, in spite of neglect, may be guarded and maintained? The Negroes should have their own peace officers; and their right to protect their own homes should be kept utterly inviolate. Citizenship is a sacred trust, and the care of citizens and the harmony of life demand that the most wholesome conditions of life be made for all alike.

We, of the Episcopal Church, have tested this out through many years. We have sat in councils, in conferences, on committees and boards with Negroes. With scarcely an exception, we have found them as courteous as ourselves. In counsel, some are wise and valued advisers; some are less so; none are useless. Their addresses sound much like ours; upon matters of their own race, far more illuminating than ours, as a rule.

We mutually fulfill the covenant which Dr. Washington's Atlanta speech proposed, and which our whole people accepted in 1884. The substance of that proposal was that "in our outward, common life, in all that goes to make a harmonious relation and a prosperous people, we are a unit like a man's hand: in our inner social life, in all that contributes to racial integrity and the separate

trusts that God imposes, we are separate as the fingers of that hand; but hand and fingers unite in striving to perfect the human family, to strengthen and build up, to guard and to purify, the great living Temple of God." Can the Church be God's Church, and stand for less?

Race Problem - 1922

United States - Book Reviews.

MAKING FUTURE AMERICAN HISTORY

Woodrow Wilson

As a student of history, we have read with particular interest a study of an appraisal of American greatness published under the title of "Famous Leaders of Character," as a book for boys, and written by Edwin Wildman, formerly editor of the Forum. Middle-aged men who were at their books between 1880 and 1890 will recall that their studies in English, rhetoric and literature were published in New England, and that the firmest impression gained from these studies that there was no authorship, or genius for literary expression outside of the New England States. All literary idols to be used had to be labelled "Made in New England." Then it was literature, poetry and philosophy, which had their well springs of influence and beauty in the little towns and the rockhills northeast of New York City. 12/29/22

The ingrowing conscience of New England, we learn from Mr. Wildman's work, has made another advance. All the famous leaders with a few trivial exceptions were born in New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut and in most instances they attended Harvard University. Probably other sections of the country might produce such men as Mr. Wildman wrote of, "These are men whose names stand for great minds and brave and noble characters," but their influences and environment were greatly antagonistic.

The South has three representatives in the Hall of Fame of Mr. Wildman's Famous Leaders of Character. He speaks rather highly but not at great length of Dr. Robert E. Lee, who was President of a Southern college directly after the war. He commends especially the high-minded act of the college president in refusing the use of his name in doubtless financial transactions and his course in devoting himself to the education of the youth of the land.

It appears that President Lee might have some part in the great war but Mr. Wildman is not specific on that point. He avoids any discussion of the military genius of General Robert E. Lee, which has been celebrated by some good writers by saying that "the strategy of the war has previously been covered in other books." But he reprints with approving words General Lee's humane military order issued at Chamberburg, Pa.

He is good enough to give General Lee's defense of his natural act in drawing his sword in the defense of his native State. It

is plain that in the opinion of the author General Lee began life under adverse circumstances, which through integrity of character he overcame. He feels that he holds a brief for General Lee and ought to explain away the fact that he was born a member of an aristocratic Virginia family. In fact, he gives General Lee the credit to him "for never taking credit to himself for the fact that he was a descendant of one of the first families of Virginia." He adds, "Much has been said in the South of aristocratic ancestors. The pride of blood in his native state, Virginia, has survived three centuries of American democracy." In spite of all this he writes, "Still the predominant character of Lee's nature was the simple pride in doing his duty."

There was another Southern general much heard of during the war, who, because of his devotion to high moral principles and deep religious faith ought to have satisfied the author's manifest Puritan principles, Stonewall Jackson, but he is not given mention in the whole volume. Nor did he mention any of the great Virginians who came before Lee. But one man, born in Virginia on a plantation, is given full and comprehensive treatment, several pages being devoted to his hardships in the plantation on which he was born, Booker T. Washington. The Washington sketch is adequate until he slurs off description of the educator's work, his real work in Alabama.

Because the view of the author on the Americans entitled to be called great is essentially New England and essentially narrow, gives no cause for a wholesale attack on the standard he sets up. His values are easily discernible and analyzable. If his subject had a part direct and remote in the abolition movement, he was, ipso facto, a great man. His greatness was greatly accentuated if he was a student at Harvard. Never for a moment does he permit the disturbing doubt that the abolitionists exerted a tremendous price from their country by their continuous and determined and ultimately successful effort to force the country into fratricidal war. His chief hero, then, of course, is William Lloyd Garrison, then Charles Sumner, followed by Wendell Phillips, Horace Greeley, Edward Everett Hale. And he carries his studies into modern times, even though he feels it necessary to explain and apologize too much for the policies of Woodrow Wilson, which were rejected by the people. Of course he has an adequate and sweeping

study of Theodore Roosevelt. General Leonard Wood having been born in New England comes in for a very friendly and sympathetic sketch. Then to establish completely the claim that New England is the nursery of greatness, he writes of Moody and Sankey, Dr. Charles W. Eliot, Dr. Philip Brooks, Henry Cabot Lodge, Grover Cleveland, William Jennings Bryan, Charles Evans Hughes, Warren G. Harding, Judge Kennesaw Mountain Landis, Judge Ben B. Lindsay and Calvin Coolidge.

The book is not propaganda; it was not written for propaganda, but it is the most effective sort of propaganda. It will materially help in the years to come in the establishment of the ideals which the author holds and the general idea that only New England produced great men or the ideas which stimulate great men. Yet it is a book well worth a boy's reading.

NEW YORK HERALD
OCTOBER 8, 1922

The Unfathomable Negro.

THE negro himself as the irony of American civilization is the supreme challenge to American literature. Like *Baboon's* ghost he will not down. All with and none, all love and longing, all capture and despair look out from the eyes of this man who is ever with us and whom we never understand. Gentle as a child, he has also the strength of Hercules. The more we think we know him the more unfathomable he is. No wonder a well known Senator who maligned the negro felt that he was paralyzed because the race prayed that God might afflict him. No wonder is it that submerged and enthralled, the negro still rises from the depths to cast by his magic an irresistible spell over the American mind.—From "The Negro in American Literature." By Benjamin Brantley in the Bookman.

**ONE ARREST MADE
BY STATE RANGERS
IN MEXICAN PROBE**
Atlantic Coast
11-19-22, Georgia
**Action Follows Complaint
Made by Mexican Government of Attacks Upon
Some of Her Citizens.**

CLAIM 12 NATIONALS

HAVE BEEN KILLED

Consul General Asserts That in Eleven Months' Time No Punishment Has Been Meted Out for Offenses.

BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.

Breckenridge, Texas, November 18. One arrest was made yesterday after a day's diligent work by city, police and state rangers, sent here by Governor Neff, in the delicate situation resulting from a parade by a crowd of men Tuesday night through the Mexican and negro districts.

At this time alleged threats and intimidations were made to the residents of these two sections which was followed the next day by an exodus from town of scores of negroes and Mexicans. The arrest yesterday was of a man giving his name as G. Blesingane. No specific charges were filed against him, but he was arrested in connection with disorder of the last few days, termed now a "labor" troubles.

On his person were found paper literature and enrollment blanks of the I. W. W., also a commission dated Chicago, authorizing him to induct members into the I. W. W.

Twelve Mexicans Killed.

San Antonio, Texas, November 18. A list of twelve Mexican nationals who have been killed along the border in the last eleven months and for which no punishment has been meted out to any persons, was made public at the office of the consul general, Enrique D. Ruiz, Saturday.

They are:

Alego Quintanilla, killed in Hidalgo county by three Americans.

A Mexican, Jose —, last name unknown, killed in Live Oak county in June, 1922.

Jose de Jose Puente, killed in Leavernia, Texas, in December, 1921.

Adolfo Galvan, killed in Driscoll, Texas.

Cesaro Garcia, killed, and Guillermo Ortiz, wounded, at Cameron, Texas, in May, 1922.

Macario Martinez, killed on a ranch near Mercedes, Texas, in October, 1922.

Virginia Becerra, 14-year-old Mexican girl, killed in Hidalgo, Texas, September 30, 1922, by officers in a raid. No investigation made.

German Martinez, killed in Tren-

ton, Texas, September 30, 1922.
Arevalo Manuel, killed in Mercedes, Texas, October 21, 1922.
Anastacio Ortega, killed in New Braunfels, Texas, in May, 1922.
Manuel Zapata, killed in Frio county in January, 1922.
Elias Villareal Zarate, mobbed at Weslaco, November, 1922, after being taken from jail.

Only one or two of the above cases, it was said at the consulate, came to trial, and in these a verdict of not guilty was returned by the jury. Speaking of this Consul General Ruiz said:

"No matter how convincing the evidence might be, and no matter how horrible might have been the circumstances under which the crime was committed, the guilty parties are invariably set free by local juries."

**ERIC D. WALROND, OF THE
NEGRO WORLD, WRITES
ON BEING BLACK" IN
THE NEW REPUBLIC**

negro world
The Short Story as Propaganda
new york

11-18-22
By WILLIAM H. FERRIS

A feature article, "On Being Black," by Eric D. Walrond, Associate Editor of The Negro World, appeared in the New Republic on Wednesday, November 1. The New Republic is a progressive magazine, a representative of advanced thought in science, philosophy, politics, economics, literature, art and music, consequently it is very popular with the intellectuals.

Two or three colored men, among them Dr. W. E. Du Bois, have already secured a hearing in its columns, and now Mr. Walrond adds his name to the list of colored writers of class.

Mr. Walrond does not contribute an article after the customary manner of dealing with the race question as a sociological, political or racial problem, but he tells three short stories showing the psychic reactions of an intelligent colored man who has been discriminated against. In the first story the hero goes in to buy a pair of spectacles and the proprietor thinks he is a chauffeur because he is colored. In the second instance he answers an ad for a stenographer. He receives a favorable reply to his letter. When he presents himself and the lady in charge sees that he is a colored man, she is informed that the position requires a man of banking experience. He is then referred to a colored friend in Harlem. And it happens that the colored proprietor was a former pupil

of the hero. In the third instance the hero desires a stateroom for his wife, travelling to the West Indies. Although the staterooms were advertised for \$150, he must pay \$178 for a stateroom for his wife. She, being colored, must have a stateroom by herself, as a white lady wouldn't desire to share the stateroom with her.

The narration and dialogue are interesting and the descriptions vivid. The stories read easily and naturally, and at the close the reader is set thinking.

The novel and the short story have been very effective means of moulding public sentiment. Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was more effective in moulding a sympathetic feeling towards the slave than the scholarship of Sumner, the logic of Harrison and the eloquence of Phillips, Douglass, Beecher, Parker and Starr King.

Within recent years the story has been more effective in acquainting the Caucasian world as to how black folks think than philosophical dissertations or impassioned eloquence.

About seventeen years ago Mr. Wilson, a former State assistant attorney of Chicago, wrote an article for the Atlantic Monthly upon "The Joys of Being a Negro." Then Chestnut's "The House Behind the Cedar" and "The Marrow of Tradition"; Du Bois' "The Soul of Black Folk" and "Darkwater" and James Weldon Johnson's "The Autobiography of an ex-Colored Man" through the medium of the story and reflections upon the black man's status have created a certain measure of interest in, and sympathy for, the aspirations and strivings of men and women of color. The world was wearied with philosophy, eloquence, argument and dissertations about the right or the wrong of America's treatment of the Negro. And then "The Souls of Black Folk" came along, revealing the agonized soul of a suffering Negro. And the country sat up and took notice.

The novel and the short story will be the medium through which the black man's cause will get a public hearing in the future. Twenty-five years ago monthly magazines like the North American and the Forum, and weekly magazines like the Outlook and the Independent, which made a feature of philosophical and scholarly articles, and were serious in tone from start to finish, had the right of way. But then the automobile, the golf club and the moving pictures came along. Men and women, even those who were educated, spent more of their leisure time in the open air and more in pleasure, recreation and relaxation. Hence they craved for light and pleasant reading, for reading that would not tire the mind and necessitate too much thought and take up too much

time. Then the small book usurped the place of the big book and weekly and monthly magazines which made features of stories, pictures, poems, athletics and theatricals, and usurped the place of the North American Review, the Forum, the Outlook and the Independent. The latter two journals are still widely read, but they now have competitors who reach a wide circle of readers. We are glad then that Mr. Walrond has joined the circle of story tellers. He is keen and wide-awake, has the gift of expression, and we expect great things from him in the future.

"The New York Post" On Japanese Decision
12-8-22
Associated Negro Press.

NEW YORK CITY, Nov. 29.—The "New York Post" makes the following interesting editorial comment on the U. S. Supreme Court's recent Japanese citizenship decision:

"There is nothing sensational in the decision of the Supreme Court than Japanese cannot become naturalized in this country. The sensational decision would be one to the opposite effect. As Justice Southerland observed the privilege of naturalization was confined to white persons in every naturalization law from 1790 to 1870. In 1870 it was extended to persons of African descent. In 1906 Congress had intended to alter a rule that had been in operation from the beginning of the government. It would have done so in unmistakable language. The court had an alternative, therefore but to declare that there had been no legal change in our policy in excluding Japanese from becoming American citizens by naturalization.

This does not mean that there can be no such person as an American citizen of Japanese blood. Japanese who are born in this country and subject to its jurisdiction are American citizens by the fourteenth Amendment like all other persons so born and governed. Even a Chinese who is in category is an American citizen. The fact that his parents cannot become citizens has no effect upon his status whatever. Nor can any state change this fact. The fourteenth amendment was adopted for this very purpose of preventing states from excluding anybody from citizenship, and while it was aimed primarily at discrimination against the Negro, it includes discrimination against any other race as well."

Chicago Defender
READ this blow which we reprint from a late issue of the Chicago Tribune:

"Black or white, who * * * * * have been propagandizing for the removal of social barriers between the blacks and whites, are sowing the wind. 11-4-22

"Whether the Colored leaders like it or not, there is and there will remain a profound instinct against race mixture.

"It is not a question of chivalry, it is a question of race self-preservation, and if the Negro leaders are willing to destroy their own race identity by intermarriage, white (sic) Americans are not. The social equality demanded by this branch of Negro leaders and sympathizers involves intermarriage and intermixture, which will not be tolerated in this country.

"To encourage the Colored people to seek and demand it is to invite disaster, not to the whites, but to the blacks; it is to foment a racial feeling which can have only a most tragic development, WHICH WILL MAKE ANY PREVIOUS RACE VIOLENCE SEEM PALTRY."

"This ought to be realized by Colored leaders, and is realized by some of them; but the preaching of social intercourse in the guise of social equality leads straight to destruction for the Negro in America."

Go over that again, reading every word carefully. Don't lose your temper. Don't cuss the Tribune.

* * * * *

This talk comes about because of the writing put under Siki's picture in last week's Defender. The writer meant peace, pride. He hoped that his own countrymen would let up on the people. He begged no question.

The boys read the Tribune declaration of war, and said that this writer should look into it.

"You like our white people," they said, "take care of negotiations."

Don't let this worry you. Real care for children. white people, those for whom you work and whose good opinion you value, know the Negro is not trying to marry his Race away.

Maybe many of your little courtesies will be misunderstood by our white people now. That is all right. This feeling will wear away. Keep a stiff upper lip.

Years ago this editorial might have meant more than it does now. Elder Blake lost out a good while ago. That crowd faced Grant and died. This writer preaches the reverse. You are told that if you cross the line die you must. Smile, and move aside, but he finds himself, along with millions, almost "destroyed" before

You have a million examples of line the Tribune fires the first gun in the crossing, but you are not bothered, war, are you?

* * * * *

The French lady wearing Siki's picture on her arm is called "a Paris demi-mondaine." The elder's Frenchy is in keeping with his bad temper. People living in glass houses should

not throw stones. Have you kept up with the social news of our white people? Underworld thoughts draw underworld pictures. Tell the Tribune to look out.

Siki can stand on his own bottom, like a good tub. This writer will let him take care of himself. The Tribune challenges the black boy. Applause from Mr. Dempsey.

Come down to facts now.

"No social intercourse," cries the Tribune. That is this writer's doctrine, but millions reading the phrase will want to defy seven years of trouble by breaking up looking glasses.

This writer belongs to the crowd in favor of preserving racial identity. He is against mixing up with our white people, with nakedness, lewdness, divorces, scandals, preacher-killing by the ladies and silly girls dishonoring Saxon glory.

See the young girls running down the old men.

* * * * *

Would you like to be "white"? No, you say, no, certainly not. Same time you think of millions almost white in our country, do you not? These almost whites dropped from the stars, maybe! Maybe is good.

Nothing hurts a duck but his bill.

"There is a profound instinct against race mixture," you are told by your great paper. The word "profound" means deep, set, settled, a state of mind born of long thought and conviction. Get that word; linger on it.

The instinct is so "profound" that white gentlemen marked defenseless Colored ladies with it by touch of affection you see living, breathing, in millions of disowned children; many skipping around the ballroom floor with the elder.

"We won't mix," said white gentlemen, "but we will mingle just a little."

THE writer is admirer of white people, their industry, intelligence, perseverance and their care for children.

Many accuse him of putting white people, particularly ours, in the skies. Some denounce this writer.

But this writer stands his ground. The Tribune tells you that you will be destroyed if you preach "social intercourse." The safest way is not to preach it; first, because you don't want it; second, because you do not want to be destroyed.

Time has its own plans, and will work them. Time is God's servant. This writer preaches the reverse, he preaches everybody to his and her line die you must. Smile, and move aside, but he finds himself, along with millions, almost "destroyed" before

the Tribune fires the first gun in the crossing, but you are not bothered, war, are you?

* * * * *

Excuse this writer for taking up Siki's your time with this matter. But our white friends, those trying to help you, need protection. They can tell the Tribune that it is barking up the wrong tree.

The Tribune says that if Negroes are willing to destroy their race identity by intermarriage "white Americans are not."

Good news. Stand with your white people here. However, our white people, some high and wearing big names, have about "destroyed" the identity of the Negro by adultery.

God keep this pen from all bitterness, but let it draw the truth.

Good-by to the elder. Don't be mad. You asked for a sign; you got that and the password. This writer and millions with him are satisfied with Colored ladies; and hopes these few lines will find you and yours satisfied with your beautiful women.

* * * * *

A proposition: This writer will meet the Tribune in joint discussion on "Intermarriage and Intermixture of Races." Both speakers will oppose the idea, since both deplore the thought of it.

Place, Chicago. Time, any time.

Terms: This writer will allow the Tribune as many speakers as it considers necessary to its cause. No other speaker will appear to hold up this writer. He will be alone. The Tribune will open and close the discussion.

The judges to be selected by the Tribune; all of them to be WHITE.

This writer's friends will pay for the hall, lights, advertising, etc. William Hale Thompson, about whom our great paper throws its fits, will be asked to stay away.

Roberts' Rules of Order and Webster's dictionary to be respected. The Tribune may use three hours. This writer will be satisfied with half that time.

The Tribune's subject will be "No Intermixture and Why."

This writer will speak on "So Say We All, but Figures Don't Lie."

* * * * *

This writer wants to set our white people straight so that you may continue to work to a better place in this world, raise your children and feel like fighting when war knocks at the door of your own, your beautiful country. And maybe keep your girls on this side.

Meanwhile, ask the Tribune not to shoot, not to fire a single shot over into the Second ward until the judges bring in a decision.

Colored people, don't fret. Ask God to deliver you and He will do so. Marry yourselves to honor. The increase will be peace.

Race Problem - 1922 United States - Book Reviews. The Problem of James Crow:

"Jim" Grown Up

By CLEMENT WOOD

Author of "Nigger"

(In the New York Herald)

THE PROBLEM.

One tenth of the population of the United States consists of Negroes. In eleven Southern States the whites outnumber the colored race by less than 2 to 1; in nine New England and Middle Atlantic States the Negroes are outnumbered more than 27 to 1. In Mississippi and South Carolina, by the 1910 census, the population with African blood is a distinct majority; in Nevada and Idaho the whites lead by more than 370 to 1. In the eleven counties of the Black Belt of Alabama 75 per cent. are Negroes; in ten mountain counties in the same State the colored proportion is almost negligible. And all the time one man out of every ten the length and breadth of the country is a Negro.

Or is he a man? There are Southern blatherskite politicians who are elevated to office on the one plank that he is not. Yet after all this may not be a real question, for Orientals are discriminated against, without implication that they are not human. Orientals are, of course, aliens whose foothold in the States is not desired by the majority, and is prohibited; while the Negroes were brought here by the whites, the first ones as long ago as 1619. They were brought here as things, not as men; as property, not as human beings. Legally, by virtue of the three civil war amendments, they are citizens, with all the rights of citizens; legally, they are men. In practice—that is perhaps a different story.

What shall we do with them? For we cannot accept as final solution an unending succession of intensifying race conflicts, riots, lynchings, klannings and retaliatory murders. What are the possible methods of solving the problem?

Some have suggested that we cut them out of the body social, as a cancer, either by extermination or by ferrying them back to the dark land they came from. Experience has proved the impracticability of banishing them. We are hardly so callously un-Christian or inhuman as to favor extermination.

It is a queer cancer too—the race that can claim the Russian national poet Pushkin, the English musician Coleridge-Taylor, the French novelists Dumas and Rene Maran, and, in our own land, the authors of the Negro Spirituals, of the

Uncle Remus folklore, the ragtime music and dancing; such leaders in the art world as Burleigh, Cook, Europe, among musicians; the Johnsons, Braithwaite, Paul Laurence Dunbar, among poets; Henry O. Tanner and others among artists, and, in wider public fields, Booker T. Washington, Moton and DuBois.

If we are not to get rid of them we must deal with them as human beings, granting either full social justice or limited social justice. Seedings of limited social justice have usually produced only unending discord. If amity and mutual progress have resulted, the sowing has usually been of full social justice. Let us see what we have sown and reaped.

The Skin Game.

For a quarter of a century my home was in or near Birmingham, Ala.; one of the results of that sojourn in medievalism is the novel "Nigger." During this time contact was inevitable with Southern whites and blacks whose memory reached earlier than the admission of the State in 1819; this gave a vista of the whole dark history. During slavery, when Negroes—in white minds and white laws—were not human beings but property, there was some kind treatment and much that was not. The whole institution was saturated with that grossest of all unkindness: the failure to acknowledge the right of individual growth and expansion among the Negroes. The turnover of the 1865-70 amendments was as abrupt as an act of special creation; thousands of illiterate cornfield hands were made legal masters and their cultured white overlords were denied the ballot. The 1868 Legislature of Louisiana was half Negro; South Carolina had 88 colored lawmakers out of 155. The slow reaction of the white South crystallized in the Ku Klux Klan and the new constitutions. From that day to this, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments have been studiously violated by Southern law, in word and enforcement; the Negro as a race does not vote, and is often kept in a state of peonage, at times approximately slavery.

The illiterate country Negro today—the farm worker, the lumber worker—is usually bound out by a contract that

impoverishes him increasingly as the years pass. Often he cannot leave the plantation where he works; he and his burden of debt must be sold together to some new overlord. If by any chance he pays off the swelling bill of indebtedness to the white owner and his ally the white storekeeper—and the whites do all the bookkeeping, with a customary 20 per cent. added "for carrying"—an arrest for some trumped up charge, such as vagrancy or "fragrancy," puts him deep in debt to the State, from which the white owner "buys him out" and sets him to work again, this time without wages. Such a Negro is the victim of plantation owner, of storekeeper, of traveling salesman, of court, of sheriff; in a word, of the white race.

In the city his lot is slightly easier. But he is still arrested, and after being fined, bought and sold like a cow or a pig; he is the victim of the vicious fee system; he is subject to constant extortion from merchants, especially under the clever installment system—a dollar down and a dollar a week for life. This is what often meets him in the South.

And in the North? Where Negroes live in large numbers, if their salary is the same as a white worker's, they at times pay a rent twice as high; merchants in the Negro sections charge a color tax that is sometimes as high as 50 per cent. of the price charged to whites. The white hawk does not become a dove as he flies toward the snow.

"Without Representation."

Birmingham has a population of some 200,000; nearly half of these are Negroes. A few years ago—there has been no material change since—less than 200 of these voted, these being chiefly Federal office holders, postmen and the like. There were more than 30,000 adult Negro males of voting age. Mississippi has a quarter of a million male Negroes of voting age. "Though I asked many Mississippians about it," writes Beulah A. Ratliff in *The Nation*, "I never heard of a Negro voting or attempting to vote in Mississippi. A prominent man from the north of the State told me, 'They don't come to the polls in our part of the State. None of our niggers are crazy to commit suicide.'"

How are they excluded? First, the "grandfather clause," so dear to the Southern States, which provides that all men who voted in 1860, or their descendants, may vote still. This enfranchises at once all the offspring of white Southerners in perpetuity. Second, the literacy test. Backroads farmers who can scarcely make an "X" in place of a signature are adjudged by white polling clerks to be illiterate; Negro graduates of the Harvard and Yale law schools are excluded by the operation of the same law.

In the episode in "Nigger," in which the educated Negroes try unsuccessfully to register for suffrage, the concluding

remark is typical of the good humored toleration that so far has minimized the shedding of blood. "Well," observed the Negro Jim Ricks, "us didn't get 'lowed out, anyhow."

The World War came—the Negroes were called on to do their bitter bit to make the world safe for democracy. It was made safe; and then, Negroes were forbidden to march in the victory parades; Negro officers were stripped of their uniforms and cruelly beaten, for daring to wear the insignia of their country; at the Maryland State convention of the American Legion, to take a type case, the colored delegates were offered seats at luncheon in a separate room. To a man they walked out and purchased their lunches elsewhere. The Government's draft lottery did not spare the Negro; the German bullet did not turn aside, because of the hue of his face. It was only the patriots at home who used him, and then twisted the crown of thorns deep into his brow.

The Three R's

There are those who look to education as the solution, or one of the chief aids toward it.

The colored population of Alabama is almost as great as the white. The value of public schoolhouses, 1913-1914, was: White, \$7,008,536; Negro, \$666,850. The white school year is 135 days; the Negro, 104. Salaries of white teachers, \$3,682,314; of Negroes, \$474,749. Pupils enrolled per teacher: White, 41; Negro, 70. One county, Dallas, in the Black Belt, spends per white child, \$17.35; per colored child, ninety cents. Result: Throughout Alabama, white illiterates, 10 per cent.; Negro illiterates, 40 per cent. This is the statistical result; the result in crimes caused by poverty and ignorance and the result in stunted lives and minds and souls is beyond computation.

The three R's taught the Negroes are not Reading, 'Riting and 'Rithmetic; they are Rope, Riot and Race-war.

Lawbreaking

In spite of everything the Negro remains, as long as we let him, an easy going, happy souled optimist. He walks in music; his words have not been dried by the sirocco of business efficiency out of their golden, haunting rhythm. His religious life is deep and primitive. But what of the day when he learns that the white man's God is on the side of the red souled lyncher? Will he always remain the same, or will he discover his own black god climbing within him?

Let us begin to study the harvest of this sowing.

The Negro is, statistically, both North and South, less lawabiding than the white. Compulsory illiteracy is a large cause; the fact that he is arrested by white officers and tried before a white judge, help swell the figures. "I look alike to me" is a pop-

ular joke among Southern prosecutors and jurymen; "you can't tell one nigger from another; they're all guilty of something, anyway. . . ." In addition to the "due" process of law, there is Judge Lynch's court, constantly invoked by Southern whites against the Negroes for offenses real or imaginary.

Of course, it is only for rape, you may object that lynchings take place.

During the recent war four white patriots in Vicksburg went to the home of a Negro woman who was not working, after the order had gone forth that every one must work. The woman was pregnant. They whipped, tarred and feathered her. She lost her child and almost lost her life as a result. The four patriots, two years later, were sentenced to six months each in jail; not a day of this was served.

Recently in Mississippi, Miss Ratliff states, Negroes were illegally killed for such offenses as trying to enter a movie theatre on the white side; trying to enter a white restaurant; helping a Negro murderer to escape; drawing a gun on a white man. There is, of course, a law on the statute books to cover these offenses, but there is pleasure in Judge Lynch's trials that the written law lacks. From equally reliable sources we learn that a pregnant colored wife in Georgia, named Mary Turner, was hanged, burned and disembowelled because she said that if she knew the names of the lynch-ers of her husband she would turn them over to the police. In Arkansas, a Negro grandfather of seventy-two was lynched for endeavoring to protect his two granddaughters from two white ravishers.

The Mixing Bowl.

In Texas white men started a race riot, shooting up a Negro quarter, because a local Negro school teacher had published in a Chicago paper the true story of a Texas lynching. The Chicago race riot started when white hoodlums were stoned to death for drowning a Negro boy in bathing. An Arkansas race riot was caused by orderly protest against wholesale cheating on the part of white plantation owners. Out of 264 lynchings between 1914 and 1918 in only twenty eight was rape assigned as the cause. Among the other alleged offenses were stealing hogs; quarrel with employer; creating disturbance; misleading a mob; demanding \$1.50 due as a bill for washing; being a Negro minister. More than fifty colored women have been lynched in the last score of years—obviously not for rape.

When you search for the motives underlying this bloody record, two stand out prominently: a desire to retain economic supremacy and a desire to retain purity of the race—or, to be more accurate, to prevent intermingling of Negro men and white women.

What is a white man? What is a Negro? Where does the one end and the other begin? In the Spanish and

French West Indies a person having less than one-fourth Negro blood was regarded as white; before 1860, in Virginia, the rule was the same. Legally, in many Southern States, the distinction today is drawn against any person having as much as one-eighth Negro blood. Since 1790 the census enumerators, however, have accepted the popular Southern opinion and ranked as Negro any person known or believed to have any Negro blood whatsoever. Dr. DuBois says that more than one-third of the Negroes in the United States have some white blood. If the policy of the Southern whites has been to keep the races apart, it has failed completely.

There are two bywords of Southern thinking that are interesting in this connection: first, that no Negro woman has any virtue; second, that immorality among the Negro women keeps white women pure. Cases of colored by-wives were once common talk in the South; they still exist. There is little color line drawn among immoral women. In the country districts of the South, where loose white women are scarce, the colored women are always available. Thus we have a constant lowering of race purity, caused largely by white men—by young men of all families and by adults of the lower white classes, in the main.

It is interesting, in this connection, that Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima of Brazil, speaking this year before the Institute of Politics at Williams College, advocated intermarriage between the races as the solution of the problem. It was practiced, he stated, in Brazil; as a result, there are no disappointed races to be found there. "Pure races," he stated, "are a historical error." The Brazilian solution of the racial problem of the colored race, at least, is certainly wiser, more promising and, above all, more human than any solution which operates through separation or segregation." Brazil, the doctor may be reminded, is a backward land compared to ours; perhaps one of the reasons may lie here. But every witness is entitled to be heard from, so grievous is the problem.

James Crow.

The cornfield name of the field hand in slavery times was Jim Crow. Jim Crow is sixty years older now. He has earned a smatter of education; his children are found in small numbers in all our higher institutions of learning; they take an increasing part in the art, the finance, the direction of our country. There is a large residuum still low; but his homeland must favor educational, Jim Crow, the field hand or city furnace worker became Private James Crow, Sergeant James Crow, Lieut. James Crow, Captain James Crow during the two-fifths of its children as close to the war: he will not forget this. There are gentle Negro leaders of the Booker T. Washington-Moton school, who advise of the land can fail to regret this acceptance of segregation, of Jim Crow street cars, trains, restaurants, theatres,

schools, Y. M. C. A.'s, Y. W. C. A.'s, churches and the rest, not as a mark of inferiority but to permit independent flowering of each race. The social bond is rather close, to promise success for this plan.

Any Southern white leader of importance, once you secure his intimate opinion on the question, will admit that the whole working out tends toward amalgamation. Not that he favors it; but that it is happening. Any thoughtful Negro leader, however much he may object to the furtive way in which the absorptio is taking place, will admit that this is the apparent end of the process.

What is the least we must give the modern Negro?

Education—as full and free and ample as the white child should get. This is the first step.

Political rights. The complete right to express their opinion in matters of social welfare through duly elected representatives. A fair bestowal of the ballot, with or without a literacy test honestly administered would give Negro representatives wherever the Negroes are in the majority, and choose one of their own race. A system of proportional representation would give them one-tenth of the members of Congress; they are entitled too to this. Why should a county with 75 per cent. of Negroes always be represented by one of the minority?

Economic justice, on the same terms as it is given to white men. The right to labor for a similar wage; the right to purchase without gouging and extortion. Out of this will come—as it is beginning to come in Atlanta, New Orleans, Birmingham and other towns—wealthy Negroes, who own their own residences, stores, banks, office buildings. The propertied Negro is rarely the author of crimes of violence. The white race may have progressed further in this respect.

Legal justice. Equality before the law—which will insensibly spring out of education, political and economic justice and equitable Negro participation in the administration of the law.

Beyond this no man can say with certainty. What worked satisfactorily in Brazil may fail here. The furtive commingling is a fact that increases; until science has spoken more authoritatively there is no need to go into the question of legalized commingling.

The Alternative.

Every Southerner who desires well of his homeland must favor educational, political and economic justice to the Negro. The South is mentally and spiritually sterile; this is one result of keeping the two-fifths of its children as close to the animal as can be maintained. No man who wishes well for that medieval Washington-Moton school, who advise of the land can fail to regret this sterility and seek to end it.

More than this, the constant intensification of friction will earn, some unexpected day, a result undreamed of. The Negroes were sheep once; they are no longer. During the war they played the part of men, and men do not willingly lay aside the manly role for a squirming one. There was a time when a Negro was expected to stand by and see the men of his family lynched, the women of his family ravished, without protestation. That time is ending. Blood is a missionary note, whose due date is more blood. It is in the hope of averting the blood doom that may spring from this landwide injustice* that earnest words go out for a tardy fairness and

MIXED MARRIAGE.*

This book is the plain narration by an American woman of her courtship and marriage to a Chinaman, and takes us up to the death of her husband. For her, the two states were simultaneous, for she was one of those fortunate, and not too numerous, people with whom courtship, and all that it entails of joy, unselfishness, adventure, charm and courtesy, does not dwindle away and become lost in the level and monotonous sands of marriage. No doubt the fact that her husband, a Chinese gentleman, was of another race added to the possibilities of keeping an ever-fresh picture of him; of finding in his character and his mind more sources of adventure and discovery than she could have found in a man of her own race, whose traditions would be her own.

The young people met as students at the University in the girl's native town, and the acquaintance in study led to a more intimate fellowship. Deterred by race-prejudice, the girl at first fought hard against her inclinations; but the ensuing pain gave her a deeper courage than that provided by pride. The nobility of her lover's character, the dignity of his mind—a quality strengthened by the tradition and philosophy of the East—gave the *quietus* to her doubts. Until the birth of their first child the young couple lived with her parents, who had raised no obstacles to this unconventional union.

It is not until the wife follows her husband to China that we see something extraordinary in her character. Could even a deep-seated love so prompt a woman to try to cast off all her European identity? Arrived at Shanghai, she adopted Chinese clothes and customs, until in the end we find her almost feverishly submitting herself to that terrible god of the Chinese—the Family; which is as tyrannical over

individuality as is our Western god—Mammon. So extreme is her subjection even that she finds an aesthetic pleasure in watching her sisters-in-law and her husband's mother tottering and swaying about on their deformed feet. She says: "For the women about me seemed to suffer no pain—only an occasional numbness, relieved by brisk massage from knee to ankle under the hands of a maid." There is expressed in that "only" an attitude which to our mind, and we are not warped by any racial bias, is revolting. Our conception of the author's husband is that he was too noble a man to merit this self-immolation by his wife. However, the book is of a kind so intimately personal that detailed criticism would be cruel. We can only pause in reverence before a love so complete that husband and wife were willing to sacrifice for it their racial and material inheritance; so complete that in that sacrifice they lost nothing of the freshness and rapture of its unusually pure passion.

BIRMINGHAM ALA NEWS NOVEMBER 11, 1922

Words Of Wisdom By A Negro Editor: Racial Purity Paramount Consideration.

One of the most thoughtful and illuminating utterances on the race question that has appeared in a long time is printed in the current number of The Birmingham Reporter, edited and published by Oscar W. Adams. It is strong, sound, conservative advice not only to our colored neighbors but to the whites themselves, typifying as it does the mature conclusion of the better elements of both whites and blacks respecting the understanding that should exist among both races. Some hint of its breadth of view is contained in the two closing paragraphs, the whole of which well deserve reprinting save for its extreme length. The utterance was inspired by an article appearing recently in The Chicago Defender, a colored organ whose editorial policies have been exceedingly antagonistic to the constructive work attempted by Editor Adams, accompanied by the picture of the African pugilist Siki tattooed on the arm of a Frenchwoman. Adams has this to say:

The Birmingham News, in an editorial of Nov. 2, called attention to the effect that such a publication might have upon the negroes. We venture the assertion that no sensible negro in this community, this State or the Southland has been affected to any degree, or has a change of mind as it respects the women of the white race. The Southern negro, amalgamated as he is, has no desire for amalgamation and no desire for social intermingling. He would be the happiest individual on earth if he were protected in keeping his womanhood pure and keeping the careless, thoughtless, disrespectful element of the opposite race from exercising its superior liberties over them. The negro, at heart, in mind and soul is absolutely safe in his desires and purposes in America; he desires only rights and privileges and decent humanity, the laws, the customs and decent society should tolerate.

This publication has long since discovered that there is no such thing as social equality; it is not within races. There are as many groups and as many elevations within the negro race as there are in any other race. There are societies, there are clubs, there are various organizations that establish their relations; the one is drawn, and as tightly and substantially as it is drawn between races and men. The News in its editorial remarks: "The most tragic thing about many negroes having some education is the total absence of racial pride." This negro, if such negro exists at all, is not an educated negro, certainly not an intelligent negro. Every educated negro and every intelligent one knows and practices race pride as the surest foundation of his manhood. An individual without family or race pride is less to be considered than the commonest of the brutes, and certainly he is not to be tolerated by the leading element and characters of the negro race. There is a group of individuals, uneducated, untrained, without thought, without vision, that may run riot at times in some foolish and unsavory practices, but the intelligent negro, the trained negro, the negro with proper contact is as safe, as sane and has as much respectability as a similar class of white men, and he desires his own and only his own for his pleasure and happiness, and the greatest burden of his heart is that men of elevation seem to misunderstand him and he does not have the protection he is entitled to in this sensible, manly attitude. The negro is wise enough to know that his social pleasure and such happiness as comes from social intermingling must be with his own kind; he is satisfied to remain in his own ranks and he is not seeking such destructive practices as might be insinuated in The Chicago Defender picture.

Thus is solemnly pointed out not only the responsibilities of the negroes to beware of the dangerous tendency on the part of some of their leaders and to curb their insidious doctrines, but the responsibilities of the whites whose vicious appetites have led them outside the border-line of racial prudence and decency. Adams handles the question tactfully which is no easy task, and it is to

Racial Purity: A Reply to Mr. Clement Wood

NEW YORK HERALD

DECEMBER 24, 1922

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK HERALD MAGAZINE SECTION — Sir: Mr. Clement Wood's discussion of the negro problem in the HERALD of December 17 is an admirably courageous statement of the case for the negro, which he has also presented, eloquently, in his fine novel, "Nigger," but, as I ventured to suggest in my review of that book, it leaves a good deal to be said: not in contravention of Mr. Wood's diagnosis, but by way of supplement, or possible alternative to the unhappy conclusions that may be drawn from his essay. His statements of fact are, I think, beyond question. The negro has met, and is meeting, injustice; there is no room for argument as to the need of better treatment for him, economically, socially and politically. The white man is ready with his *peccavi*, and realizes that the sins—or, better, the mistakes—of the fathers must still be expiated through many generations. But does it follow that this must produce, ultimately, a complete mingling of the races? Must we, in order to aid the negro to lift himself up, ask him to marry into the family?

I, for one, cannot look forward to a chocolate-colored human race with equanimity. I hope for a better world than that could be, for my children's children. And I think there are still many Americans old fashioned enough to believe in the value—and possibility—of racial purity. Further, I claim, emphatically, that there is such an aggregate human entity as the ineptly labelled Anglo-Saxon race, in spite of the sneers which often greet that term to-day, and in spite of the doctrines of hair-splitting scientific anthropologists. And upon the continued dominance of that race depends the future of these United States. It may be overwhelmed, drowned in the "rising tide of color" and other lowering elements, but if that happens the result will be destructive. The point is worth some elaboration, since it is fashionable to deny the existence of such a race.

Mr. Wood quotes Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima of Brazil to the effect that "pure races are a historical error," and Mr. Wood himself asks: "What is a white man? What is a negro? Where does the one end and the other begin?" We are constantly being reminded that the "Anglo-Saxon" of to-day is a very mixed creature with many various strains in his blood. That is, of course, all quite true, from the historical and anthropological viewpoint. None the less, everyone knows precisely

what is meant when we venture to speak of the Anglo-Saxon (Anglo-Norman would be much more nearly correct) and of his traditions, his ideals, and his ways of thinking and acting. The connotations of the term are not obscure. Indeed, the type has been fairly fixed for centuries—at least since the days of Elizabeth, and many of its roots run back to the meeting of the barons at Runnymede. It is a living, enduring cultural group, as individual as the Jew or the Spaniard.

I prefer the term "English thinking peoples" to denote it. That is broad enough to include its representatives everywhere, in Canada, New Zealand, Australia, as well as in Great Britain and in the large remnant of still unmongrelized citizens of the United States: men and women, who think and act upon much the same motives as did their ancestors of four centuries ago, to go no further back. And that term, English thinking, definitely excludes many who speak English, perhaps as their only language, but who none the less feel and act as did their Oriental or African forebears a thousand—or five thousand—years ago.

It is fatuous, little more than quibbling with words, to deny the existence of an English thinking race. The same civilizing forces that produced a Sir Philip Sidney can give us, to-day, a Leonard Wood. A generation ago they gave the world a Lincoln. That race needs no admixture of negro, or Slav or Oriental to further its growth—nor can it safely tolerate any such mingling.

Let us not call this a claim to superiority, but to a differentness. The Jew excels us, in some ways. We recognize the Chinese as our superiors at some points. But it does not follow that either the English or Chinese race will gain by any merger; rather, each would lose. The best development demands racial purity, when an efficient type has become fixed. A fairly sound analogy may be drawn from the humble poultry yard, even for the evolution of a civilization. The Rhode Island Red is a bird of mixed ancestry but is become a fixed type; so is the Black Minorca. But no poultryman will advocate mating the two breeds.

If it be objected that I am wandering from the specific problem it must be noted that it can best be considered as merely a part of the larger problem, and that the remedy for the threatened evil (if there be any) is applicable more widely than merely to the negro section of it. Mr. Hilaire Belloc (alone, so far as I know, among publicists) has pointed a possible way out in suggesting that the immiscible

must agree to keep apart—with respect, justice and friendship for each other, but with a strict refusal of any merger.

Utopian? Perhaps; but steps may obviously be taken toward bringing that result about, by education and a rational "control of life" especially in such cases as that of the negro, as I shall point out.

Mr. Wood courageously goes to the root of the matter in his discussion of what most of us will prefer to call miscegenation. And he is fully justified in placing the greater blame for that upon the white man. "The furtive commingling," says he, "is a fact that increases." One of the best pictures of the process and of its tragic consequences is given, in the form of fiction, in Mr. H. A. Shands's remarkable novel, "White and Black." Unfortunately, it needs no proof. Furthermore, any observer possessed of common sense and a knowledge of the imperfections of human nature, and of its incomplete self control, will admit that such furtive commingling will continue wherever the races live so closely intermingled as they do in the South. It happens, of course, everywhere, but is comparatively negligible in northern cities or where there are but few negroes.

On the other hand, no white man, and probably no enlightened, thoughtful negro, desires to see this process continued. Here and there some colored brother is bold enough to advocate it, but he is, I think, less entitled to speak for his race than such men as the late Booker Washington, or Dr. Moten. It is also possible that as negro racial self consciousness increases, becoming more and more aware of itself, it may happen that a justified race pride may arise; that the negro may come to realize that the more he respects himself, as a negro, the better man he will become. It is pitifully true that the greatest curse of the black man is his desire to become white. If he would progress he must outgrow that desire. Education leading toward that end should be the chief aim of negro leaders.

But practically, what can be done to stop, or at least to minimize, this racial commingling? Mr. Wood justly remarks that "we cannot accept an unending succession of intensifying race conflicts, riots, lynchings, klannings and retaliatory murders." Apparently he thinks—however little he likes it—that the only way out is by interbreeding. And, unhappily, that seems, in truth, the thing most likely to happen—unless an enlightened humanity can sufficiently discipline itself to prevent

that end. It will happen, unless intelligent, concentrated effort is able to direct the blind forces of evolution. Man, the late John Burroughs argued, is becoming himself "a biological legislator." Here is a specific case which cries out, insistently, for conscious direction and control of natural forces. Is it impossible?

It is not impossible, I believe, if both races can be educated to a point where they may cooperate, for the benefit of each, to so direct these human impulses as to preserve racial integrity, for both black and white. The key to the solution lies in segregation—but that term must be properly understood.

By segregation I do not mean "Jim Crow" cars, a colored "Ghetto" as a part of a dominantly white community, or anything of that sort. As Mr. Wood says, "the social bond is rather close, to promise success for that plan." Segregation must be far more complete than that. And it must be voluntary. Such a result is, plainly, difficult of attainment, but it is thinkable. For it might be attained by setting aside certain areas in the South (Alabama, for instance), areas large enough to hold practically all the black race.

It would be necessary to induce them to go there, and to aid them, for generations, in every possible way, to develop their own culture therein. The white man must move out of the black country, and the black men must concentrate their energies in their own land. They will need the help of the white man, for many years, as teacher, friend, helper; even, we may say, as elder brother, in the sense in which the brotherhood of man is a reality.

I am, of course, quite aware that such a suggestion will be called wildly visionary, impossible, fantastic. But—is it really so? Might it not, rather, become no more than a hastening and guidance of tendencies already apparent? There is to-day 75 per cent. of negroes in the population of Alabama. As their numbers increase the natural economic tendency will be to drive out the whites. Let us hasten rather than impede this movement. Of course it implies sacrifice on the part of the white man, for whom the nation must find compensation somehow. It has been shown in more than one exclusively negro community that, under certain conditions, the negro can learn to take care of himself. He might be developed to industrial and intellectual success as well as to agricultural efficiency. Given greater opportunity he might go far. Such an experiment need not become another Hayti—not if unselfish guardianship be exercised so long

NEW YORK CITY
DECEMBER 23, 1922
A Costly Riot.

The race riots in Chicago in the summer of 1919, which started over a comparatively trivial dispute at a beach, are costing the taxpayers of the city heavily in death and personal injury claims awarded. The city has paid \$20,000 to relatives of victims and a committee of the City Council has approved additional claims aggregating \$81,000. Judgments, made and pending, are expected to bring the total at least to \$169,000.

By virtue of an Illinois law municipalities are held liable for deaths or injuries caused by riots. Though Illinois is not the only State possessing such a law, it is comparatively rare for cities, counties or States to be compelled to pay damages as a result of such disorders. Riots more or less destructive have occurred in many places, but seldom has the taxpayer been called upon to indemnify those who suffered.

The theory of public responsibility in such cases is worthy of note. It holds that it is the duty of the local government to protect life and property within its jurisdiction, and that when protection fails an individual who suffers thereby has a right to claim damages. The recently proposed Federal law to punish lynchings was based upon this contention. It sought to assess a fine against any county in which a lynching took place. The objection to the bill was that it contemplated an improper extension of Federal authority, rather than any direct objection to the public liability feature.

It might be argued that the Chicago police could not have prevented the riot and that they did their best to curb it after it started. Probably cities cannot wholly avoid riots. But when a community must pay in money for the damage they cause it is very likely to make a most earnest attempt. Translation into terms of cash is an effective way of presenting the seriousness of an evil.

as it might be needed.

A practical beginning could be made by properly assisted colonization. But, clearly, the first steps must be in the education of both races to an understanding of the idea. Carefully analyzed, this solution offers no violent opposition to natural forces. It calls for no more than self-conscious guidance, a "control of life" *en masse*, greater, it is true, than any ever hitherto attempted, but not an impossibility, though it would demand the utmost exercise of philanthropy, the wisest legislation, and above all, a long process of the most careful education.

If it be objected that this is to create a dangerous *imperium in imperio*, I reply that we have that condition already, wherever large groups of immiscible peoples exist among us, as they do, for instance in New York and Chicago. Further, the theory of our Government is that of federation. To create a black State is merely to carry that idea to a logical extreme. Recognition of the patent fact that, as a whole, we are not a homogeneous people might lead to a better establishment of "State rights" and to a sounder federation. The basic ideal, in this case, is racial integrity. If we are fit to survive we should be able to work out a *modus vivendi* by which separate races may live, side by side, in amity and cooperation. That such a happy result has never yet been attained in past history does not demonstrate that it is forever impossible.

The difficulties are colossal. I am not blind to them, either on their economic or social or political sides. But—what else is there to save the ultimate destruction of the whole race in its reduction to a brown mixture? Will anyone seriously claim that such mongrelization is better than a sane parallel development of the races, no matter what sacrifices or initial struggles such a segregation must involve?

H. L. PANGBORN

NEW YORK DAILY SAYS RED RAYS SHINE ON NEGRO

Pittsburgh
12/22/1922
NEW YORK, Dec. 22.—The New York Herald has discovered that the red rays of Moscow have begun to shine on the Negroes of the United States. This paper says that the Bolsheviks, ever on the alert to plant the seeds of revolution in fertile soil, have seized on the American Negro. The Herald says that Moscow tried to incite the Negro to rebellion. The only thing that saved the day says the Herald was the Negro's dislike of foreigners. This paper says, "Had the

black man of the United States been as inflammable as the Russian Reds thought he was, blood would have run freely in many communities, for there would have been race war."

The Herald says that after the race riots of 1919 the Reds rushed secret agents into this country and the African Blood Brotherhood was formed. The Herald states that the A. B. B. is a Bolshevik organization with all the Bolshevik trappings and propaganda. What is claimed to be the program of the A. B. B. is quoted at great length. The article closes with a statement that a number of college Negroes have joined the movement and have been preaching violence ever since. Says the Herald:

"During the first year of the organized activities by the Communists among the Negroes a number of educated Negroes, most of them from Harvard, were found sufficiently discontented and sufficiently excited to make good Communists. They were enlisted in the work and from that time have been preaching violence on every occasion to the Negro element."

COLOR PROBLEM

SHOWN IN PLAY

WORCESTER MASS TELEGRAPH
DECEMBER 11, 1922

Grace Church Young People Present "J. W. Thinks Black"—P. L. Dunbar's Poetry Is Read

"J. W. Thinks Black," a dramatized book on the Negro question, in three acts and eight scenes, was presented by a cast from the Epworth league of Grace church, at the evening service in Washburn hall, last night. There were Negro melodies and readings from the poetry of Paul Lawrence Dunbar, between the scenes.

The story is that of one J. W. Farwell and his wife, who are obliged to turn to a colored friend of theirs in the search for kitchen help in their home in Deerfield, O. The man appealed to his colored pastor, who supplies the help and at the same time starts "J. W." thinking on the problems of the black race and their relations to the white people. A solution of some of these problems is forcefully presented in the action of the play.

Walter Wood in the role of J. W. Farwell, and Hiram Phillips as Pastor Driver, the Negro minister, played their parts convincingly. Others in the cast included Mrs. Walter Wood, Harold Clark, Russell Damon, Irving Howlett, Gleason MacCullough, Alexander Ryan, Olive Damon, Grace Spooner, Josephine Damon, Marjorie Hirtle, Russell Phillips and Angus Clain.

The Negro Student in a Mixed School

TO THE EDITOR: All but three years of my school life has been spent in mixed schools, so I am attempting to answer the article Is There an Answer? in the SURVEY for Sept. 15. When a colored student matriculates in a mixed school she becomes automatically a member of the student body of that school. She expects and is entitled to common, ordinary courtesy. She knows there are rude white people as well as rude colored people, she rates their behavior according to their intelligence and proceeds to ignore their lack of good breeding.

The Survey 12-15-22 New York City
She has screwed her courage up to the "sticking point" before entering the school; the only things that count are her class standing and general conduct. She is not dependent upon her classmates for her social life. Whether she receives courteous treatment or not from the student body, she will be able to make a definite contribution toward racial understanding, for she will interpret honestly from her personal experiences.

There is a large class of colored students today who are getting no direct contact with white people. Their only idea of racial contact is gained from newspaper articles which are engendering a feeling of racial hatred. It is from this group that our leaders are being trained, from this group students are entering mixed colleges. If the spirit of the student body into which they are thrown is not altruistic, it is not a far guess as to the kind of contribution they will be able to make toward racial understanding.

The colored student does not feel that every other student who speaks to her is a friend, she rates that attitude at its true value, that it is an effort on the part of her fellow student to be humanely decent.

If the college spirit, traditions and standards are not strong enough nor far reaching enough to ensure to every student matriculating a square deal as a member of its student body, there is much work for the trustees, alumni, faculty, and upper classes to do. For the sake of Americanization, such a college should close its doors to all foreigners, Jews or colored students.

G. H. FIELDS

Baltimore, Maryland

N. Y. C. POST

NOVEMBER 17, 1922

Letters From Our Readers

Knowing the Twentieth Century Negro

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK EVENING POST:

SIR: In reviewing the recently published report of the Chicago Race Commission many papers have implied that this was the first attempt to get at the mind of the twentieth century negro. "For the first time," says one newspaper, "the point of view of the negro of the twentieth century was sought." This statement is so far from the truth that I beg to correct it.

Nine years ago in Atlanta a large section of the Southern Sociological Congress, perhaps a hundred members, met with certainly as many colored men and discussed with them freely and frankly the question of race relations. The addresses given at this meeting were published under the title "The Human Way." Since then the University Commission on Race Relations has met in many cities of the South and at each meeting colored men have been invited and have appeared and spoken with utmost frankness. The effort was distinctly to learn the point of view of negro leaders. The minutes of these meetings have been published, and also five open letters on various phases of race relations. Within the past four years the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, with headquarters in Atlanta, has been able to form joint committees of white and colored people in many counties of the South. At the general meet-

ings of this commission, as well as at the sessions of the local committees, there is perfectly frank expression of opinion.

Not a great amount of publicity has been given to any of these meetings which I have mentioned, because, I suppose, of lack of any special machinery for publicity, but they have had, all of them, a very far-reaching influence for good. I am sure that the Chicago report, which deserves all the good words that have been said about it, will have a decisive influence in improving relations and understandings, not only in such centres as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Washington but throughout the country.

JAMES H. DILLARD

Charlottesville, Va., November 3.

N. Y. C. WORLD

DECEMBER 25, 1922

THE COST OF CHICAGO'S 1919 RACE RIOTS

During the three and one-half years that have elapsed since the midsummer race riots of 1919 the people of Chicago have been occupied with many matters of more immediate interest. But they have just been forcibly reminded of the horrors of that week of bloodshed. They have had occasion once more to consider soberly the length of the death list before the State militia restored order.

For the City Council has been clearing up the death claims arising out of the 1919 race riots. It has been a long time about it. Previously the city had paid \$20,800 in settlement of five death claims. Eighteen more, amounting to \$81,000, were approved last week. In fifteen other cases death claims still remain unsettled.

The committee of investigation accounted for 38 deaths. In addition, 543 persons were injured—178 whites, 348 Negroes and 17 of unidentified race. During the reign of lawlessness the destruction of property was heavy. On top of all, Chicago has had to bear its share of the expense of maintaining 6,000 State troops for the nine days they were put on guard because of the helplessness of the police. Aside from this large item, Chicago stands to pay in the end over \$500,000 because of the 1919 race riots.

In the light of the circumstances, the mere payment of money in any sum must seem an almost futile form of punishment for the community. The worst penalty must be that the record of that week of wholesale crime cannot be effaced or the disgrace visited upon the city diminished by any form of reparation for which it may accept responsibility.

RACE SEPARATION URGED

Commercial Appeal
Arkansas Jurist Writes Book on Problem of the Negro
12-14-22

ARKADELPHIA, Ark., Dec. 13.—J. E. Callaway, Arkadelphia attorney, is the author of a 40-page booklet entitled "The Road to Righteous Judgment," a treatise of the negro question.

Judge Callaway maintains that the Creator made the negro mentally and socially inferior to the white man. He says: "The conclusion is inescapable that he was created in a class by himself and has so remained to this day."

Concerning the outrages committed by negro man, he thinks these things will continue as long as the races live side by side, and the only solution of

this question is segregation of the negro race to most suitable and favorable localities in the south.

The Problem of James Crow: "Jim" Grown Up

NEW YORK HERALD

DECEMBER 17, 1922

By CLEMENT WOOD.

Author of "Nigger."

The Problem.

ONE-TENTH of the population of the United States consists of negroes. In eleven Southern States the whites outnumber the colored race by less than 2 to 1; in nine New England and Middle Atlantic States the negroes are outnumbered more than 27 to 1. In Mississippi and South Carolina, by the 1910 census, the population with African blood is a distinct majority; in Nevada and Idaho the whites lead by more than 370 to 1. In the eleven counties of the Black Belt of Alabama 75 per cent. are negroes; in ten mountain counties in the same State the colored proportion is almost negligible. And all the time one man out of every ten the length and breadth of the country is a negro.

Or is he a man? There are Southern blatherskite politicians who are elevated to office on the one plank that he is not. Yet after all this may not be a real question, for Orientals are discriminated against, without implication that they are not human. Orientals are, of course, aliens whose foothold in the States is not desired by the majority, and is prohibited; while the negroes were brought here by the whites, the first ones as long ago as 1619. They were brought here as things, not as men; as property, not human beings. Legally, by virtue of the three civil war amendments, they are citizens, with all the rights of citizens; legally, they are men. In practice—that is perhaps a different story.

What shall we do with them? For we cannot accept as final solution an unending succession of intensifying race conflicts, riots, lynchings, klannings and retaliatory murders. What are the possible methods of solving the problem?

Some have suggested that we cut them out of the body social, as a cancer, either by extermination or by ferrying them back to the dark land they came from. Experience has proved the impracticability of banishing them. We are hardly so callously unchristian or inhuman as to favor extermination.

It is a queer cancer, too—the race that can claim the Russian national poet Pushkin, the English musician Coleridge-Taylor, the French novelists Dumas and Rene Maran, and, in our own land, the authors of the negro spirituals, of the Uncle Remus folklore, the ragtime music and dancing;

that grossest of all unkindnesses: the failure to acknowledge the right of individual growth and expansion among the negroes. The turnover of the 1865-70 amendments was as abrupt as an act of special creation; thousands of illiterate cornfield hands were made legal masters and their cultured white overlords were denied the ballot. The 1868 Legislature of Louisiana was half negro; South Carolina had 88 colored lawmakers out of 155. The slow reaction of the white South crystallized in the Ku Klux Klan and the new constitutions. From that day to this, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments have been studiously violated by Southern law, in word and enforcement; the negro as a race does not vote, and is often kept in a state of peonage, at times approximately slavery.

The illiterate country negro to-day—the farm worker, the lumber worker—is usually bound out by a contract that impoverishes him increasingly as the years pass. Often he cannot leave the plantation where he works; he and his burden of debt must be sold together to some new overlord. If by any chance he pays off the swelling hill of indebtedness to the white owner and his ally the white storekeeper—and the whites do all the bookkeeping, with a customary 20 per cent. added "for carrying"—an arrest for some trumped up charge, such as vagrancy or "fragrancy," puts him deep in debt to the State, from which the white owner "buys him out" and sets him to work again, this time without wages. Such a negro is the victim of plantation owner, of storekeeper, of traveling salesman, of court, of sheriff; in a word, of the white race.

In the city his lot is slightly easier. But he is still arrested, and after being fined bought and sold like a cow or a pig; he is the victim of the vicious fee system; he is subject to constant extortion from merchants, especially under the clever instalment system—a dollar down and a dollar a week for life. . . . This is what often meets him in the South.

And in the North? Where negroes live in large numbers, if their salary is the same as a white worker's, they at times pay a rent twice as high; merchants in the negro sections charge a color-tax that is sometimes as high as 50 per cent. of the price charged to whites. The white hawk does not become a dove as he flies toward the snow.

"Without Representation."

Birmingham has a population of some 200,000; nearly half of these are negroes.

A few years ago—there has been no material change since—less than 200 of these voted, these being chiefly Federal office holders, postmen and the like. There were more than 30,000 adult negro males of voting age. Mississippi has a quarter of a million male negroes of voting age. "Though I asked many Mississippians about it," writes Beulah A. Ratliff in *The Nation*, "I never heard of a negro voting or attempting to vote in Mississippi. A prominent man from the north of the State told me, 'They don't come to the polls in our part of the State. None of our niggers are crazy to commit suicide.'"

How are they excluded? First, the "grandfather clause," so dear to the Southern States, which provides that all men who voted in 1860, or their descendants, may vote still. This enfranchises at once all the offspring of white Southerners in perpetuity. Second, the literacy test. Backroads farmers who can scarcely make an "X" in place of a signature, are adjudged by white polling clerks to be illiterate; negro graduates of the Harvard and Yale law schools are excluded by the operation of the same law.

In the episode in "Nigger," in which the educated negroes try unsuccessfully to register for suffrage, the concluding remark is typical of the good humored toleration that so far has minimized the shedding of blood. "Well," observed the negro Jim Ricks, "us didn' get th'owed out, anyhow."

The world war came—the negroes were called on to do their bitter bit to make the world safe for democracy. It was made safe; and then, negroes were forbidden to march in the victory parades; negro officers were stripped of their uniforms and cruelly beaten, for daring to wear the insignia of their country; at the Maryland State convention of the American Legion to take a type case, the colored delegates were offered seats at luncheon in a separate room. To a man they walked out and purchased their lunches elsewhere. The Government's draft lottery did not spare the negro; the German bullet did not turn aside, because of the hue of his face. It was only the patriots at home who used him, and then twisted the crown of thorns deep into his brow.

The Three R's.

There are those who look to education as the solution, or one of the chief aids toward it.

The colored population of Alabama is almost as great as the white. The value of public schoolhouses, 1913-1914, was:

White, \$7,008,536; negro, \$666,850. The white school year is 135 days; the negro, 104. Salaries of white teachers, \$3,682,314; of negro teachers, \$474,749. Pupils enrolled per teacher: White, 41; negro, 70. One county, Dallas, in the Black Belt, spends per white child, \$17.35; per colored child, ninety cents. Result: Throughout Alabama, white illiterates, 10 per cent.; negro illiterates, 40 per cent. This is the statistical result; the result in crimes caused by poverty and ignorance and the result in stunted lives and minds and souls is beyond computation.

The three R's taught the negroes are not Reading, 'Riting and 'Rithmetic; they are Rope, Riot and Race-war.

Lawbreaking.

In spite of everything the negro remains, as long as we let him, an easy going, happy souled optimist. He walks in music; his words have not been dried by the sirocco of business efficiency out of their golden, haunting rhythm. His religious life is deep and primitive. But what of the day when he learns that the white man's God is on the side of the red souled lyncher? Will he always remain the same, or will he discover his own black god climbing within him?

Let us begin to study the harvest of this sowing.

The negro is, statistically, both North and South, less lawabiding than the white. Compulsory illiteracy is a large cause; the fact that he is arrested by white officers and tried before a white jury and judge, helps swell the figures. "All coons look alike to me" is a popular joke among Southern prosecutors and jurymen; "you can't tell one nigger from another; they're all guilty of something, anyway. . . ." In addition to the "due" process of law, there is Judge Lynch's court, constantly invoked by Southern whites against the negroes for offenses real or imaginary.

Of course, it is only for rape, you may object, that lynching takes place. . . .

During the recent war four white patriots in Vicksburg went to the home of a negro woman who was not working, after the order had gone forth that every one must work. The woman was pregnant. They whipped, tarred and feathered her. She lost her child and almost lost her life as a result. The four patriots, two years later, were sentenced to six months each in jail; not a day of this was served.

Recently in Mississippi, Miss Ratliff states, negroes were illegally killed for such offenses as trying to enter a movie theater on the white side; trying to enter a white restaurant; helping a negro murderer to escape; drawing a gun on a white

man. There is, of course, a law on the statute books to cover these offenses, but there is pleasure in Judge Lynch's trials that the written law lacks. From equally reliable sources we learn that a pregnant colored wife in Georgia, named Mary Turner, was hanged, burned and disembowelled because she said that if she knew the names of the lynchers of her husband she would turn them over to the police. In Arkansas, a negro grandfather of seventy-two was lynched for endeavoring to protect his two granddaughters from two white ravishers.

In Texas white men started a race riot, shooting up a negro quarter, because a local negro school teacher had published in a Chicago paper the true story of a Texas lynching. The Chicago race riot started when white hoodlums were stoned to death for drowning a negro boy in bathing. An Arkansas race riot was caused by orderly negro protest against wholesale cheating on the part of white plantation owners. Out of 264 lynchings between 1914 and 1918 in only twenty-eight was rape assigned as the cause. Among the other alleged offenses were stealing hogs; quarrel with employer; creating disturbance; misleading a mob; demanding \$1.50 due as a bill for washing; being a negro minister. More than fifty colored women have been lynched in the last score of years—obviously not for rape.

The Mixing Bowl.

When you search for the motives underlying this bloody record, two stand out prominently: a desire to retain economic supremacy and a desire to retain purity of the race—or, to be more accurate, to prevent intermingling of negro men and white women.

What is a white man? What is a negro? Where does the one end and the other begin? In the Spanish and French West Indies a person having less than one-fourth negro blood was regarded as white; before 1860, in Virginia, the rule was the same. Legally, in many Southern States, the distinction to-day is drawn against any person having as much as one-eighth negro blood. Since 1790 the census enumerators, however, have accepted the popular Southern opinion and ranked as negro any person known or believed to have any negro blood whatsoever. Dr. Du Bois says that more than one-third of the negroes in the United States have some white blood. If the policy of the Southern whites has been to keep the races apart, it has failed completely.

There are two bywords of Southern thinking that are interesting in this connection: first, that no negress has any virtue; second, that immorality among the negro women keeps white women pure. Cases of colored by-wives were once common talk in the South; they still exist. There is little color line drawn among immoral women. In the country districts of

the South, where loose white women are scarce, the colored women are always available. Thus we have a constant lowering of race purity, caused largely by white men—by young men of all families and by adults of the lower white classes, in the main.

It is interesting, in this connection, that Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima of Brazil, speaking this year before the Institute of Politics at Williams College, advocated intermarriage between the races as the solution of the problem. It was practiced, he stated, in Brazil; as a result, there are no discontented races to be found there. "Pure races," he stated, "are a historical error." The Brazilian solution of the racial problem of the colored race, at least, is certainly wiser, more promising and, above all, more human than any solution which operates through separation or segregation. Brazil, the doctor may be reminded, is a backward land compared to ours; perhaps one of the reasons may lie here. But every witness is entitled to be heard from, so grievous is the problem.

James Crow.

The cornfield name of the field hand in slavery times was Jim Crow. Jim Crow is sixty years older now. He has earned a smatter of education; his children are found in small numbers in all our higher institutions of learning; they take an increasing part in the art, the finance, the direction of our country. There is a large residuum still low; but Jim Crow, the field hand or city furnace worker, became Private James Crow, Sergeant James Crow, Lieut. James Crow, Capt. James Crow during the war; he will not forget this. There are gentle negro leaders of the Booker Washington-Moton school, who advise acceptance of segregation, of Jim Crow street cars, trains, restaurants, theaters, schools, Y. M. C. A.s, Y. W. C. A.s, churches and the rest, not as a mark of inferiority but to permit independent flowering of each race. The social bond is rather close, to promise success for this plan.

Any Southern white leader of importance, once you secure his intimate opinion on the question, will admit that the whole working out tends toward amalgamation. Not that he favors it; but that it is happening. Any thoughtful negro leader, however much he may object to the furtive way in which the absorption is taking place, will admit that this is the apparent end of the process.

What is the least we must give the modern negro?

Education—as full and free and ample as the white child should get. This is the first step.

Political rights. The complete right to express their opinion in matters of social welfare through duly elected representatives. A fair bestowal of the ballot, with or without a literacy test honestly administered, would give negro representatives

wherever the negroes are in the majority and choose one of their own race. A system of proportional representation would give them one-tenth of the members of Congress; they are entitled too to this. Why should a county with 75 per cent. of negroes always be represented by one of the minority?

Economic justice, on the same terms as it is given to white men. The right to labor for a similar wage; the right to purchase without gouging and extortion. Out of this will come—as it is beginning to come in Atlanta, New Orleans, Birmingham and other towns—wealthy negroes, who own their own residences, stores, banks, office buildings. The propertied negro is rarely the author of crimes of violence. The white race may have progressed further in this respect.

Legal justice. Equality before the court—which will insensibly spring out of education, political and economic justice and equitable negro participation in the administration of the law.

Beyond this no man can say with certainty. What worked satisfactorily in Brazil may fail here. The furtive commingling is a fact that increases; until science has spoken more authoritatively there is no need to go into the question of legalized commingling.

The Alternative.

Every Southerner who desires well of his homeland must favor educational, political and economic justice to the negro. The South is mentally and spiritually sterile; this is one result of keeping two-fifths of its children as close to the animal as can be maintained. No man who wishes well for that medieval section of the land can fail to regret this sterility and seek to end it.

More than this, the constant intensification of friction will earn, some unexpected day, a result undreamed of. The negroes were sheep once; they are so no longer. During the war they played the part of men, and men do not willingly lay aside the manly role for a squirming one. There was a time when a negro was expected to stand by and see the men of his family lynched, the women of his family ravished, without protestation. That time is ending. Blood is a promissory note, whose due date is more blood. It is in the hope of averting the blood doom that may spring from this landwide injustice that earnest words go out for a tardy fairness and a delayed equity.

It is not social equality that is needed now—it is social justice. When this is denied there have been cases where the shoe of oppression was worn on the other foot.

Can the South learn in time?

THE BOOKSHELF

Chicago, by J. M. Jackson, Ill. Nigger, by Clement Wood: E. P. Dutton & Co., publishers.

The author of this novel has written some poetry and one other novel, "Mountain." This is another of the popular series on the race problem which have followed Stripling's "Birthright" and Shand's "White and Black." From the opening chapter, with its setting of swamp and blood-hounds, to the Negro quarter in Birmingham known as "Scratch Ankle," the author shows considerable knowledge of the conditions under which so many Negroes are compelled to live in the South, both in the country districts and in the larger cities. Briefly told, the story centers about the search of Jake for emancipation for himself and his children. It begins with Jake as a little slave boy in a cabin just off of a swamp. He is frightened by the baying of the hounds of some slave hunters and he seems to spend the rest of his life pursued by cruel and relentless slave drivers and lynchers. One notes the absence of any attempt to portray the happier side of a Southern Negro's existence. The story is dark, forbidding, and altogether depressing. Yet for thousands of black men and women in the South life is just that. The writer makes the cruel, heartless treatment of Negroes by Southern whites match the ignorance and degradation of the blacks. The bestiality of the whites explains the lack of morals of some of the blacks. From the very beginning Jake's search for 'mancipation is doomed to disappointment. On learning that the war had set him free, one Negro asks Jake:

"Wuts dis yere 'mancipation I hears so much concern' of?"

Jake replies: "'Mancipation means yo' pav for yo' own hoe, yo' own plow, yo' own slab of bacon, yo' own 'lasses—wid nothin' to pay fer 'em wid."

The white man still asks the Negro to prove himself a man, and at the same time denies him the use of tools with which to do it.

Several lynchings which are graphically described result in a stampede for points farther north. One of the victims in giving the warning to his fellows starts this dialogue:

"Dey comin'! Better run! Goo' by * * *

"W'ut stahted it, man?"

"Nothin'. Jes' talk. It's stahted."

What a complete summary this is of the whole evil of mob violence and murder that grips the South! Talk results in so much hatred and murder. Book One, called "Genesis," ends with an old Negro heretofore pictured as a worthless, gin-drinking, shiftless scoundrel, defending his daughter, already big with child by a white man, from assault by a drunken leader of the mob.

And so the family flees north to Birmingham and Scratch Ankle, the Negro quarter, described as follows: "They never forgot that first night in Birmingham. The house of the shifty Mr. Yancey Wyatt was at the extreme end of a block of Negro shacks on Avenue B. The street car which ran before their door turned at the corner and coasted one block south before it sped west again on the wide

loop along 11th street to the affluent highlands. There were no houses across the street—only dusty, bare fields with half a dozen blocks away a grotesque huddle of dun buildings billowing smoke from multitudinous tall vents. The dulled prospect stretched and diminished toward the sun-troubled west."

The children grow up and receive an education of sorts in Birmingham. One son becomes an outlaw who lives on his wits, constantly defying the law. Another continues the search of his father for emancipation in the trenches of Flanders fields, only to return and see how easily saving the world for democracy can mean the destruction of it at home. A daughter fair enough to "cross the line" wins a partial victory in her conquest of the husband of her mistress and Jake dies, disappointed and defeated.

We are tempted to quote another passage which summarizes part of the tragedy of color. This fair sister is escorted on a street car by her brother Tom. "A lanky white man, lolling in the seat across, rose to his feet and tapped him on the shoulder.

"Hey, nigger, don't you sit by a white woman." Tom paid no attention to him. Drunk, probably.

Several other white men quietly joined the first speaker. "Git up, nigger, if you don't want trouble." Too late he sensed the menace in the tones. "This woman is my sister—" A blow smashed him full in the face. "You liar—" "Hit him again." "—kill him." There you have an example of Southern molochism and a situation which Negroes face every day, be they ignorant or cultured.

Negroes who read this novel will have to bear in mind that this novel is a portrayal of the falsity and weakness of Southern whites, which means, of course, that the resulting weaknesses of their helpless victims are thrown in high relief against that sordid background. White readers unfamiliar with the facts of life and customs of the South we hope will realize that the fact that educated, trained Negroes are left out of this particular picture does not mean that there is another chapter to this story not written here. The author shows great power as a writer in this story, although parts of the tale are crude and undeveloped. The story is moving because it is so sincerely written. It smells of the earth and is as realistic as the most modern student of that particular school of writing could wish. We believe that if it were dramatized by a genius like Eugene O'Neill it would outshine "Emperor Jones." This novel will cause much discussion and, we hope, some thought.

Pat H-n

Race Problem - 1922 II.

United States, — Book Reviews.

be hoped that his words will travel far.

The News, for its part, in saying that "the most tragic thing about many negroes having some education is the total absence of racial pride," alluded specifically to such so-called educated leadership as Dubois and others in the North possess, and not to the educated Southern negro. The products of Tuskegee Institute, for example, show how magically the negro can be raised to higher levels without implanting in his mind dangerous precepts such as The Defender, unhappily, encourages. The News would not be misconceived on that point. It believes in thorough training and education for the negroes, else there cannot hope to be mental and spiritual evolution. What it does emphasize is the thing happily emphasized by The Birmingham Reporter. There must be, first and paramount to all else, pride of race. There must be protection for the negroes in that wish to be left alone, undisturbed in their own ways of evolution. They must enjoy the same guarantees of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness enjoyed by the white race. Their economic rights must be conserved and cherished, and they must have equal justice in the courts of the land.

When depraved white men who cross the borderline between the races are brought to see the criminality and the error of their way, and when the rights of the negro to absolute justice are enforced, there will be an end of exoduses, and there will begin an Epoch of Racial Understanding.

Race Problem - 1922

United States - Book Reviews.

The American Negro

BROOKLYN N Y EAGLE by
NOVEMBER 13, 1922

The Rev. Dr. S. Parkes Cadman

DR. S. PARKES CADMAN, before the Men's Conference at the Bedford Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association, spoke to the usual large audience yesterday afternoon on "The American Negro." It was an eloquent defense of the rights and place of the negro and was listened to with marked attention and at frequent periods, loudly applauded. W. G. Stevenson, religious work secretary, presided, and the Gloria Trumpeters played special numbers. Dr. Cadman's address was substantially as follows:

I.

Paul as God's Ambassador.

Saint Paul, the foremost of God's ambassadors, and the founder of Western Christianity, declared that in Christ his living Lord, the whole creation was renegade, new and transformed.

According to the glorious apostle who formerly had been a bigoted and persecuting Judaizer, in the Christian ordering of life there is no race distinction, no prejudice of color or condition, no servitude, no snobbery, no arrogance, no German deity, no American supremacy, no British superiority exists in smon-pure Christianity. Its Prince and Saviour is all and in all and all men are one in Him. What do the so-called Christian nations have to say in response to this challenging ideal? They have seldom if ever realized it. Their political practice has usually been far below the demands. The few instances when they have displayed its restraining virtues were clamorously denounced by professed followers of Christ as betrayals of national interests or of national honor. Undoubtedly the peoples of the Orient and our own negro citizens have received some benefits from Christian Powers, but they have also endured numerous injuries. Had not Africa lain at the feet of the white man there might have been no slavery in the United States or in the British dominions, or on the Spanish Main. The opium traffic was forced upon China by England's gunboats. Russia waged war against Japan at the bidding of a court camarilla. These flagrantly open injuries have disrupted humanity and the veriest dullard is aware of the gigantic ills that ensued. The Civil War here, wars and rumors of wars elsewhere, the defeat of Spain in the New World, the downfall of the Czaristic Empire are largely traceable to the wrongs and oppressions inflicted by racial hatred and nationalistic greed. Unless the white race repents of its wickednesses and sin-

cerely accepts and practices the humanity and brotherhood of the New Testament, it will, in my judgment, eventually be expelled from the Orient. Should it resist expulsion the probabilities are that a world war of unparalleled dimensions will be fought to the finish. Educated Orientals who influence their fellow-countrymen no longer reverence cultivated Europeans and Americans. The recovery of our damaged prestige will not be made by steam roller methods. Yet how narrowly the United States has recently escaped hostilities against Japan, and how little we have to thank our chauvinistic press that we have escaped them! How slender is Britain's hold on India! How just were some petitions of Korea, China and Egypt to the Versailles Conference! How heedlessly they were ignored or rejected! Who, then, can say that the white race will be wise enough to get safely beyond the catastrophic period? When the Japanese delegates sat stern and silent in council while their late allies swept aside their plea for racial equality, an observant onlooker registered their ominous bearing. They will not soon forget that painful defeat of the justice which is Christianity's real strength. It is urged that whatever are the faults and crimes of Western civilization, at least it is capable of progress. But the typical American or Briton who wishes to be the cause of as many changes as possible in his environment makes a fetish of progress and adores it even when it is no more than the ethical camouflage of his burning desire for constant change. He glories in the scientific method of life, whereas the typical Chinaman, says Dr. Bertrand Russell, has a far more ethical conception of the ends of life. This distinction, which separates East and West far more effectively than we suppose, will have to be recognized by those who have substituted pagan for Christian conceptions of races and nations.

II.

Every Negro Entitled to Justice.

Much I have said applies to the American negro. In the language of Senator Calder, "Every colored man and woman in this Republic, and millions of its white citizens, believe that the negro, wherever he lives within our boundaries, is entitled to justice and fair play at all times, no matter what the provocation may be." These are the sentiments of true religion and of true statesmanship. The Americans who are not willing to identify themselves with them and to include the honest, industrious negro in the range of their good will are not loyal adherents of democracy. In defense of his reaction, the white rebel against democracy asserts that the negro is addicted to race consciousness. Granting that the assertion is true, is race consciousness an unpardonable offense, and if so, who is guiltless of it? I submit that such a consciousness, as distinguished from

racial pride, tyranny and exaction, is had his struggles against a hard fate as proper and seemly as personal self-respect. If it be true, and I think it is, that since the World War the negro has shown an intensified desire to assert his rights, I for one am content that he should do this so long as he also asserts his duties without his rights.

Nothing can be permanently done for people who have lost self-confidence and self-courage. The resolution to overcome difficulties and achieve meritorious success depends upon a due respect for one's self and for one's race. Why, then, should the negro be penalized for traits which we extoll in the white man? It is highly important that those traits shall be directed by moral motives and toward moral ends. Pro-citizens, for the common good of our race, if they are thus directed, the negro is justified in his ambition to become what his Creator intends him to be—a man, erect, candid, two-handed, capable, self-supporting, and as such a valuable asset to the home and community. In these relations he is legally and morally entitled to the same fraternal intercourse of his fellow-citizens. I shall not comment upon the almost insuperable obstacles which the negro has had to encounter. Captured by armed bands in his native habitation, ried in chains across the seas on slave ships which were floating hells, crushed by laborious tasks; starved, beaten, warned not to conceive himself a human; segregated in disease-ridden quarters, charged with indecency and non-social conduct while existing under conditions which destroyed decency and social conduct, his annals in this free land of ours are its reproach and its tragedy. Par of the divine account against us for our treatment of him was paid in the strife of 60 years ago. Further settlement is inevitable unless we put into active and effectual work those measures of equity and benevolence which are intrinsic in a genuinely democratic government.

III.

A Square Deal for the Negro.

The incentive to insist on a "square deal" for the negro is furthered by his remarkable advance since emancipation. In 1866 he owned but 12,000 homes in the country; today he owns and operates less than 20,000 farms; today he operates exclusively more than half a million farms. One year after Lincoln's death the negro conducted 2,100 business establishments. Today he conducts 50,000 of these establishments. There was no regular school- ing for his children when Lee and Grant met at Appomattox. Now 40,000 negro schools have been built with an attendance of 1,800,000 children and an annual expenditure of \$15,000,000 for their education. Nearly 50,000 churches minister to the negro's religious needs. They have a membership of 5,000,000 and young people, and represent an investment of \$85,000,000. These statistics are unequalled for magnitude and significance in the history of any similarly enslaved race since time began. Consider the Is- raelites, who knew the bitterness of human bondage, and filled their early records with their tears. Yet they did not inherit as much during their first 500 years of residence in the Promised land as the negro has created in the last half century by his own arduous efforts in this land.

much more he might have created of the Bureau of Charities and other philanthropic and religious enterprises. The thousands of negro migrants from our Southern States and from the West Indies enter this maelstrom of city life unaccustomed to its rush and bewildered by its roar. The Urban League is their refuge. All legitimate complaints can be heard and answered there. The colored man who is victimized by rapacious landlordism, or by non-hygenic conditions or by brutal labor leaders, needs but to believe in the league and in himself for a remedy. Through the Lincoln Settlement, which is closely connected with the league, the children and the mothers receive care.

It may be asked what are the fifty thousand or more colored people of Brooklyn doing to make these praiseworthy institutions successful? Plainly they and the negro everywhere are exploited and humbugged by professional agitators, financial buccaneers, pseudo-reformers and selfish politicians. Some among the negro's professed friends and advocates seek to inflame him against the majority of his countrymen. The fakers of both races have reaped a rich harvest out of his innocence in money matters. Why does he not ask for an Urban League in every town and city where it can be established? No better use can be made of the colored man's time, cash or sympathy than such an association offers.

But so long as he allows smooth-tongued charlatans and rogues to impose upon his credulity or to climb on his back and ride to freedom from work or to political jobs, he has himself to blame for his woes. Let the negro remember his stake in the nation, and heed the enlightened men and women who appeal to his better nature, who urge him to be diligent, efficient, and a homebuilder. He must not be so foolish as to leave the brunt of the struggle for racial justice to the faithful few, whether black or white, while he stands idly by, critical, faultfinding, and too often low-minded, disreputable and wasteful.

V.

Negroes Up and Doing.

How many negroes in this and other cities are up and doing with men like Dr. Proctor, William Elzy, Mr. Baldwin and with the splendid Georgia Plan for Racial Betterment? Surely there is no need of race hatred in this republic. The best men and women of both races involved should combine against their common enemy. And he is that man, be he black or white, who sows disaffection, contempt, calumny and lies. In this relation I advise you to procure and read the Report on the Chicago Race Riots issued by the committee appointed by ex-Governor Lowden. Mark how in that disgraceful episode yellow journalism, foul quarters, bad housing and the plunderbunds which rob the negro, played a principal part. The old dodge of suppressing these causes of serious trouble will not serve again. To punish the negro for defending himself and his home against wanton and unprovoked attacks is a sure way of arousing the slow but inevitable and righteous wrath of the American people. Our Southern brethren are increasingly determined to end the lynchings which have stained their annals with barbarism and butchery. Our Northern brethren are nonplussed and outraged by those ferocious exhibitions of animus against the negro from which they were wont to think themselves im-

muned. Unless the states, North or South, cleanse themselves of this iniquity of lynching, the Anti-Lynch law will be made sternly effectual against those whose unspeakable savageries have made Americans blush for their nation. Public sentiment is crystallizing on this question, and the economic situation of the South, which requires colored labor for the cultivation of its crops, accelerates the process. I send forth a word of good cheer to our colored citizens, and bid them stand fast, play the man, and by self-improvement, thrift and perseverance build a solid foundation for their sons and daughters. To be productive instead of nonproductive, to be polite instead of boorish, to endure today what can and shall be abolished tomorrow because of your patience; these are the routes to fair play and justice. The standards of negro loyalty, religiousness and devotion to benefactors are, on the whole, still intact and maintained. But the hour has struck when every negro must either be a credit to his race or else its betrayer, and when every white man who treasures our domestic unity and integrity will have to cheerfully co-operate for these ends with all like-minded people.

Some of the Questions and Answers.

Among the questions answered by Dr. Cadman were the following:

"What can I read on the Church and her position today?"

"The Church and the Age," by Dean William Ralph Inge."

"How do we know that this is a probationary state?"

"Because we are confronted with so much positive good and actual evil which test and prepare us for a future state."

"Is not the tendency to be so easy-going an evil?"

"Yes; it lands us in difficulties with God's changeless justice."

"Do you consider your ministry in the apostolic succession?"

"I trust it is in the older prophetic succession."

"How do you stand on athletics?"

"They are an essential for the preservation of bodily health. In older people they require wise adaptation."

"Who was Sidney Lanier?"

"A Southern poet who endured hardships all his life and was tubercular, yet he kept his soul alive and kindled the glow of beauty and of praise in other souls."

"Are there any real poets in America just now?"

"Yes. Frederick Lawrence Knowles, Edgar Lee Masters, Carl Sandburg, Robert Frost and John Gould Fletcher are entitled to that distinction."

"What is welfare work?"

"Work undertaken by altruistic people or altruistic legislation. Its merit is the great relief it accomplishes for the needy. Its danger is the injury of self-respect and self-help in the recipient. No people do so much of it as do the American people."

"For what are we indebted to Great Britain?"

"For the blood that gave us colonization and constitutionalism also for our language, much of our literature, and not a few of our laws."

"Are you content with the old morality?"

"Yes; but not with the old immorality."

"Is Victor Hugo a realistic writer?"

"No; his work is deeply tinged with a magnificent imagination. His characters were not made by God, but by Victor Hugo."

"What is an Anglo-Catholic?"

"A believer in the Anglican Church as a true and lineal descendant and member of the church apostolic throughout the world."

"What good did the Oxford movement do?"

"It revived religious worship, architecture and the reverence which is the gateway to a true knowledge of God. It also restrained insularity, and made contact with the church beyond Anglicanism. It also produced sainting like Dr. Pusey, Charles Marriot and John Keble."

"What do you think of the new tariff?"

"In Mr. Asquith's phrase, 'Wait and see.' It must be judged by its fruits, not fully understood the tariff."

"I am naturally a free trader and do not fully understand the tariff."

"How do you account for Senator Calder's defeat by 200,000 votes?"

"No man can stand the floodtide that came last Tuesday. It swept everything, as it did two years ago, and as it will sweep everything two years hence. A good Governor and a constitutional lawyer has been dropped in the State and a good man, a gentleman, too, has been voted in in his place. Mr. Miller did a great work, and in view of what Mr. Smith did in the matter of Hearst policies we may look for good things from him. We did not get Hearst for Senator, and for that we may be thankful. Senator Calder has been a laborious and faithful public servant."

"What do you think of the Roman Catholic drive for \$2,000,000 for parochial schools?"

"It is all right. It is a reminder to us that if there are not enough schools to educate our children we should provide them. The Catholics see the necessity for more schools, and they are going about to get them. Children must be educated in the interest of the Republic."

"I have a son who does not like to work. He is idle and my wife waits upon him hand and foot. What should we do?"

"Kick him out and let him go to work. Let your wife attend to him with her hands and you attend to him with your feet."

"How do you account for the defeat of so many Republicans?"

"The principal reason was that they did not get votes enough."

"You favor a referendum on the question of Prohibition, do you not?"

"I certainly do, and it would receive an overwhelming vote. The law against liquor traffic is a part of the Constitution, and three-fourths of the States would have to vote to get it out, and this will never be done."

"Had Calder's attitude on the bonus anything to do with his defeat?"

"It might have been a factor, but it was only a decrepit set of politicians that voted in Congress for the bonus. It was a question which they simply passed up for the purpose of re-election. They voted for it with the hope that the President would veto it, and when they got home and were criticised they simply had to say, 'Well, I voted for it.' If you drove a straight nail in some of their heads it would come out a screw."

Dr. Cadman answered many more questions, some on the matter of intermarriage in which he said that the

whites did not want to marry with the blacks nor the blacks with the whites, except possibly some of the low-down persons in each class. The races, he said, should stick to their own kind. In answer to another question he declared that no man could claim to be a Christian who hated those of any other race, and such hatred would act disastrously upon any nation. "Our nation," he declared, "is not a Christian nation, neither is Great Britain. There are Christians in them, but that is a very different thing. Those who deny the brotherhood of man are atheists just as much as those who deny the Fatherhood of God. According to this there must be a good many atheists in our churches, and many who hammer the back of the prayer meeting benches." In answer to a question as to whether the black race would ever rule this country, Dr. Cadman said there was no danger, but the negro was entitled to his rights, and it would stand the politicians in good stead to see that he got justice. Lack of space forbids giving more to the questions.

LODGE THROWS SOP WHEN HE DISCUSSES WAR AMONG RACES

The Cleveland Case Senator Tries to Comfort Those Worried About White Supremacy

10/21/22
STOCKBRIDGE, Mass., Oct. 17.—

(Crusader Service)—Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, speaking at the annual gathering arranged by Congressman Allen T. Treadway here yesterday, threw a sop to the sentiment of the missionaries and "white man's burden" advocates who are urging as the duty of this country, intervention in the Near East because Turkey, backed by the united sentiment of the Moslem and darker world, has been successful in defeating the Greek tools of British imperialism and scrapping the infamous Servres treaty which divided Turkey into five zones only one of which was to remain under Turkish rule.

Senator Lodge reviewed the attitude of this country toward Turkey during the World War, deploring the fact that Turkey had not been included in the declaration of war against Germany, but assuring his hearers that if the President should refer the issue to Congress there would be an instant declaration of war. He neglected to say who would do the fighting—the Senators or their masters in Wall Street—since it is certain that neither white or Black workers will allow themselves to be drawn into an-

other capitalistic war. Especially have the Negro people no intention of taking up arms against the Turks, who are members of the Darker Races, for the doubtful blessing of the maintenance of white supremacy and oppression over themselves as well as over other members of the Darker Races.

DEVELOPMENT OF RACIAL ANTIPATHY

THE FACT is becoming more and more apparent that George Washington was wise and far-seeing when he advised that we should keep out of entanglements with European governments and quarrels. This was doubtless predicated on the knowledge of the fact that those governments represent an almost continuous conflict for racial supremacy and territorial aggrandizement. Their conflicts are usually the outgrowth of racial antipathy and religious bigotry. In one country the Jews are persecuted because they are Jews, in another the Irish are subjugated because they are Irish, while with some of the governments differences on account of religions are made the basis of persecution and subjugation.

OUR GOVERNMENT was organized on a different basis with a Constitution so framed as to afford ample protection to all of its citizens regardless of racial differences and with a complete separation of church and state so as to secure to all religious freedom. These principles were clearly and forcibly enunciated in the Declaration of Independence in which it was declared that all men are created free and equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among them life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

THIS DOCTRINE was subsequently incorporated in a modified form into the federal Constitution. It is true that it was not strictly lived up to for many years subsequent to the adoption of that instrument, but the fundamental principle was there which could not be eradicated, but which was later vindicated by the surrender which took place at Appomattox. While the fruits of that struggle are still incomplete, their full fruition is only a question of time.

THE WISDOM of the principle on which the government was founded has been vindicated on more than one occasion. The persecuted of other countries have found unrestrained and unrestricted liberty of speech, thought and action within the boundaries of the United States. Among them may be mentioned the late Carl Schurz and Joseph Pulitzer, both refugees from their native land. One of them rose to the dignified position of United States senator and a cabinet minister; the other proved to be one of the most successful journalists that the civilized world has produced.

IN THE EARLY DAYS of the republic some of the prejudiced and narrow-minded citizens brought about the organization of a political party called the "Know Nothing" party, the primary purpose of which was to proscribe and persecute Roman Catholics and those of foreign birth. This organization flourished for a brief period in certain localities, but the masses of the American electorate were too loyal to the principles upon which our government was founded to tolerate the existence of such an organization, hence its early demise.

AN EFFORT is now on foot to bring about an organization for the purpose of not only proscribing Catholics and citizens of foreign birth, but Jews and Colored Americans as well. In certain localities the proscription is more acute with reference to one of these classes than to the others. In Boston its manifestation is more acute in reference to the Jews. But these manifestations are un-American and are in conflict with the fundamental principles upon which our government is founded, consequently they must necessarily be ephemeral and of short duration, as was

N. Y. C. PRINTERS' INK
OCTOBER 26, 1922
Advertising and Education
Booker T. Washington, the great negro educator said, in his classic autobiography, "Up From Slavery," "I sometimes feel that almost the most valuable lesson I got at the Hampton Institute was in the use and value of the bath."

Throughout his life Mr. Washington repeatedly stressed the importance of cleanliness. He claimed that an appreciation of the value of bathing was the beginning of progress and that a nation of a race that had acquired the frequent bathing habit could count itself educated.

In reading this great statesman's autobiography, we were struck with what a strong endorsement his words are of advertising. There are, perhaps, more bathtubs in the United States than in all other countries combined. We have dozens of prosperous manufacturers of soap, cleaners, disinfectants, dentifrices, etc. This has been accomplished through advertising. Advertising has made the general cleansing business one of the most substantial of America's industries. If, as Mr. Washington said, the most valuable part of an education is to be taught the value of cleanliness, certainly the economic force that has made the United States the most bathed nation in the world, must be rated as an important educational institution.

of the "Know Nothing" party, for the intelligent American electorate cannot fail to see and realize the fact that if proscription and persecution against any one race, group or religious sect should be tolerated the result will be chaos and the destruction of governmental machinery, hence there would be no safety or security for anyone in any state or territory of our country.

Race Problem - 1922

United States, — Book Review

THE PERFECT RACE.

The Nordic racial theorists are at it again. Mr. CHARLES W. GOULD has written a book about the future of America, which is reviewed in today's issue of THE TIMES BOOK REVIEW by Mr. MADISON GRANT, high priest of Nordic autolatry. Mr. GOULD is described by his reviewer as "a gentleman of the old stock, pleading with his countrymen to maintain that stock in its purity." Unfortunately, he weakens his argument against immigration by conceding that any race, if it remain pure and undefiled, may amount to something, though naturally no other can equal the heaven-born Nord. So it seems that we could easily maintain the old stock in its purity by a law making it a felony for any member of the Society of the Cincinnati, Sons of the Revolution or Descendants of Colonial Wars to marry a woman whose ancestors had come to America since the inauguration of THOMAS JEFFERSON. *new york*

Borrowing from MOMMSEN the statement that "a mongrel people can never attain real prosperity," Mr. GOULD supports it by some really heroic arguments. The greatness of India, Persia, Greece and Rome was all due to "a common inheritance in the North." The golden age of Greece was probably a thousand years after the Nordic immigration began, and five hundred years after it ended. During all those centuries the uncontaminated Nords had lived among their Mediterranean subjects without any intermixture, but immediately after attaining their peak they began to marry strange women, and their decline was fast and furious. It would seem from this that the Nords can't stand prosperity. Rome's greatness Mr. GOULD attributes to the "marvelous administrative machine" created by the Nordic patricians; her "fall," which, to judge from Mr. GRANT's review, he seems to place at the end of the republic, to the Mediterranean plebs. But as a matter of fact this marvelous administrative machine, in the last days of the republic, had become one of the most incompetent and unjust Governments on earth. Rome was rehabilitated by AUGUSTUS, who very likely was more of a Nord than a Mediterranean. But the Emperors who ruled Rome in the golden age, which was a good deal more golden than anything ever seen under the republic, came

from Spain, where there was little Nordic blood.

Mr. GOULD selects as his typical Nords SULLA and ALEXANDER. Some of his brethren of the sect hold that ALEXANDER was half Mediterranean, and that he was great because he was a mongrel. SULLA may or may not have been a pure Nord. What are his claims to greatness? Mr. GOULD says proudly that "he slew his political opponents by the thousands, and then abolished the death penalty for political crime"—obviously to prevent his surviving opponents from killing off his friends after the next landslide. But SULLA did more than that. He invented normalcy. Like some of his modern imitators, he tried to restore a system that was several decades out of date; and his work fell to pieces as soon as he was dead.

If Mr. GOULD wants a real Nord, he ought to consider CLEOPATRA. The Macedonian dynasty of Egypt—pure Nordic—never had any infusion of outside blood except through occasional intermarriages with the equally Nordic Macedonian dynasty of Syria. Eventually, in order to preserve their racial purity, the PTOLEMIES took to marrying their sisters. CLEOPATRA, who displaced her brother-husband, poisoned another brother, and ruined her lover and herself, was a hundred per cent. Nord.

"Historians," says Mr. MADISON GRANT, "have never considered race." Maybe that is because nobody knows just what race is except these inspired Nordic theologians. There is reason for their continual falling back on German arguments. The religion of a superior race was necessary to pan-Germanism; outside of Germany it rather fails to convince. There are good arguments against unrestricted immigration, but this Nordic nonsense is not one of them.

FALSE BELIEFS ADD TO RACIAL PROBLEM

CHICAGO ILL NEWS
OCTOBER 5, 1922

Many Unfavorable Opinions
Are Without Foundation,
Investigators Say.

The "Negro problem" is deeper and

wider than the difficulties which center about the more specialized problems of Negro housing, Negro crime and industrial relations involving Negroes, according to the recently issued report of the Chicago Race commission, which has investigated carefully the different beliefs and rumors, whether true or false, which affect the relationship of the two races. All studies of special conditions made by the commission left a baffling residuum of causes of racial discord, deep rooted in the psychology of the white and Negro groups in contact. The beliefs and attitudes, firmly fixed and accepted prejudices of one race as to the other, grouped under the term "public opinion" in this way became the subject of a novel inquiry.

Public opinion with respect to the Negro forms a body of sentiment so definite and compact as to make it an excellent laboratory case for analysis and study. states the report. "but the commission's aim in investigating it was merely to make apparent and objective its place and importance in race relations; to indicate some of the ways in which it has developed; how it expresses itself; how it affects both the white and Negro in its present state, it is strengthened, weakened, polluted, or by its own action; and finally how it may be used to reduce, if not prevent, racial unfriendliness and misunderstanding.

Negro Opinions Described.

The opinions and sentiments of Negroes on these same issues are described and illustrated with a view to making them understandable, and their interpretations of current white sentiment are explained as far as possible.

"The conduct of individuals is largely determined by their attitudes toward a subject and their general beliefs concerning it. Definite beliefs concerning Negroes may be found in the north as well as in the south, varying with the individuals who hold them, according to degrees of contact with the Negro group and the individual, traditional background. These may be divided according to their character and effect into two general classes: (a) Primary beliefs or those fundamental and firmly established convictions which have, all around, the deepest effect on the conduct of whites toward Negroes and are pretentiously supported by statistics, authorities, and scientific research; (b) secondary beliefs, or modifications and variants of important assumptions as to cardinal attributes."

These beliefs are not held by the commission, according to the report. On the contrary, the commission shows how false many of the accepted beliefs are and lists them to show the lengths to which unthinking prejudice can go in such generalized superstitions.

Primary Beliefs Held.

"Among these primary beliefs are the following:

"1. Mentality: That the mind of the Negro is distinctly and distinctively inferior to that of the white race. Some believe that this is due to backwardness in ascending the scale of civilization; some that the Negro belongs to a different species of the human family.

"2. Morality: That Negroes are not yet capable of exercising social restraints common to white persons; that they are unmoral as well as immoral.

"3. Criminality: That Negroes possess a constitutional character weakness, and a consequent predisposition to sexual

crimes, petty stealing, and crimes of violence.

"4. Physical unattractiveness: That physical laws prompt whites to avoid contact with Negroes.

"5. Emotionality: That Negroes are highly emotional and for that reason are given to quick, uncalculated crimes of violence as easily as to noisy and emotional religious expressions."

Public Opinion in Error.

Public opinion is equally in error in secondary beliefs concerning the Negro, according to the commission.

"As continued repetition of any false statement without correction of its error eventually gives it credence, secondary beliefs have rooted themselves deep in the public mind. Among other things it is believed that Negroes are: (1) Lazy, (2) happy-go-lucky, (3) boastful, (4) bumptious, (5) over-assertive, (6) lacking in civic consciousness, (7) addicted to carrying razors, (8) fond of shooting craps, (9) flashy in dress and like gaudy, brilliant colors, especially red.

"Although the status of the Negro has changed the beliefs remain the same, and have led to bitterness and resentment among Negroes, with consequent misunderstandings and friction.

In Chicago sentiments collected from a variety of sources and involving the views of several thousands of white persons indicate the persistence of these archaic beliefs and fears, a deep set and of such long standing that they are assumed by many persons to be instinctive.

Question Twenty Persons.

"To secure definite information upon the traditional background of beliefs concerning Negroes, twenty white persons with no special interest in Negroes were selected at random from professions, business, and other vocations and submitted to a careful and searching inquiry. They were asked eighteen carefully prepared questions to draw out the raw material of their unqualified reactions on the question of the Negro and, as far as possible, the background in their early experience. They were asked for their opinions concerning Negroes, whether or not they believed that they possessed distinguishing traits of mentality and character; their attitudes were solicited by questions and propositions designed to provoke an expression of attitude. Questions were put regarding instances and experiences involving Negroes in their early experience; their first consciousness of racial differences; their first contacts; and information was sought on the definite sources of their knowledge or opinions concerning Negroes.

"All the persons questioned had clear-cut opinions and thought that Negroes possessed distinguished traits ranging from 'affectionate loyalty' to 'mental and moral handicaps imposed by evolution.' An abolitionist's son, for example, thought that 'Negroes should desire segregation; a man who had observed Negroes at Tuskegee and Lewis institutes would increase their education and meet the demands produced by education. One whose only contact had been with his 'black mammy' thought that the Negroes were 'affectionate and loyal but lacking in racial pride, though evolutionarily handicapped, possessing the qualities of children.' Another who had had an unfortunate experience with his 'Negro chauffeur' thought the Negroes were characterized by 'distinctly inferior mentality, deficient moral sense, shiftlessness, good-natured, and a happy disposition.' They knew little about the activities of Negroes, their leaders, their papers, or their problems, and the sources of which they relied for their information, except in

two instances were dependable." (Another article taking up a phase of the Race Commission report giving the belief of the Negroes concerning the white population will be published to-morrow.)

HOUSING IS SERIOUS PHASE OF RACE ISSUE

Chicago Commission Finds Hostility to Negroes in Some Neighborhoods.

CHICAGO ILL NEWS
SEPTEMBER 29, 1922

That powerful factor in producing race prejudice, the effect of the Negro population upon property values, is dealt with extensively in "The Negro in Chicago," issued by the Chicago commission on race relations, composed of influential white and colored citizens. The commission has just completed a three-year survey of the conditions leading up to the race riots in July, 1919.

Limitations upon Negro housing, at first effective, produced a congestion which made it almost impossible for the Negroes to relieve their growing housing shortage without encroaching upon near-by white neighborhoods, according to the report.

In nonadjusted neighborhoods," the report states, "the failure of Negro and white neighbors to adjust themselves mutually has produced the most serious phase of the Negro housing problem. A general housing shortage may be relieved by the opening of new neighborhoods or the availability of houses in various parts of the city, but for Negroes there is less opportunity for thus relieving the housing shortage because of the hostility of many white neighborhoods to the presence of Negroes.

Some Residents Molested.

"White residents immediately south of the old west side Negro residence area objected to the moving in of Negroes, sending numerous threatening letters to the newcomers and otherwise annoying them. In certain sections of the north side, Negro residents have been molested. On one occasion shots were fired at their homes and at other times warning signs with pictures of skulls, crossbones and no entry were posted. In the Lake Park avenue area on the south side, Negroes are limited to a few blocks, are not permitted to buy, and are discriminated against in practically all restaurants and amusement places.

"West of Wentworth avenue, adjoining the south side Negro residence area, few Negroes live. The residents here are largely Irish working people and distinctly hostile to Negroes, even to those merely passing through the neighborhood. This area has many organized gangs and 'athletic clubs,' and its racial antagonisms appear to be traditional."

In short, the bitterest hostility developed in two types of locality, one in which there were no Negroes living, and the other in which the advent of Negroes was a new thing in the neighborhood.

according to the report.

One false report of a particularly malicious character was investigated by the commission, which found:

"In Park Manor and Wakeford, between 69th and 75th streets, Cottage Grove and Indiana avenues, excitement was created in a new white settlement by an advertisement in a local paper addressed to Negroes offering them homes there. The name of a white real estate dealer living there was given. A demonstration followed, meetings were held, and the real estate man was asked to explain. He asserted, and it seems to have been the case, that the advertisement was the 'spite work' of an enemy."

Agitation Is Begun.

Reasons for the shift of the Negro population on the south side were found by the commission in its investigation of Kenwood and Hyde Park.

"The neighborhood between 39th and 59th streets, State Street and Cottage Grove avenue, just south of the Negro residence area, has been termed a 'contested neighborhood' because of the recent influx of Negroes. The 'Black Belt' was already overcrowded, and its occupants were seeking relief from deteriorated and insufficient housing. The coming of thousands of Negroes from the south made it overflow.

"With Lake Michigan flanking the east, encroaching industry the north, and overcrowded, hostile neighborhoods the west, the overflow inevitably went south into the west portion of Hyde Park and Kenwood. Scattered through the south side were numerous houses and apartments that had been vacant for many years, and sales were gladly made to Negroes, many of the recent southern migrants having considerable funds. In 1919, of the 3,300 owners of property in the region embracing parts of Kenwood and Hyde Park and adjacent territory, 1,000 were Negroes. Already a popular agitation against the Negroes had been begun by real estate men who formed the Kenwood and Hyde Park Property Owners' association. They increased and organized the prejudice against the Negroes in a campaign 'to Make Hyde Park white.' They held meetings, published a weekly newspaper, and called upon property owners and other real estate dealers to pledge themselves against renting or selling to Negroes. In carrying out their program, they resorted to vilification, ridicule and disparagement of Negroes, accusing them of destroying property values and robbing white people of their homes."

Very little opportunity was provided for Negroes to escape this congestion by moving into the suburbs, the report states.

Area Has Negro Mayor.

"Few outlying places welcome Negroes as residents. Morgan Park, however, has offered homes for Negroes and the Negro population there has increased from 126 in 1910 to 695 in 1920. They live for the most part on one side of the town near their own churches; they own their homes and keep them attractive. School accommodations are poor, many children leaving school early for that reason.

"Robbins, another suburb, is entirely Negro, having a Negro mayor. The town is difficult to reach, unattractive, and uninviting. About 400 hardworking Negroes occupying seventy houses are trying to develop a town against the handicaps of lack of capital, swampy lands and inaccessibility."

This is the fifth article dealing with the report of the race commission. The sixth article, taking up another phase of the report, will be printed to-morrow.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE, P. A. W. K. W. K.

OCTOBER 7, 1922

THE NEGRO AND THE UNITED STATES

Prepared as a text-book. "The Negro in Our History" (Associated Publishers, Washington) lacks judicial quality requisite for classroom use. This is conspicuous in a considerable section devoted by the author, Dr. Carter Woodson, to his race and the "A. E. F." It is charged they were drawn into the army in undue proportion, conscripted for manual labor as a matter of policy, and discriminated against when they obtained access to the fighting line. In substance, that while fighting for the flag, they were treated as inferior beings. Unfortunately, there is some evidence of unfairness in official places affecting colored troops. But it is not enough to sustain a blanket indictment in a book offered as history. . . . For the most part, Doctor Woodson's volume is informing and fair enough.

BOOK CHAT—BY MARY WHITE

OVINGTON, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE.

11-11-22

*The Broad Ax
Chicago, Ill.*

"THE HISTORY OF THE NEGRO CHURCH"

By Carter G. Woodson, Ph.D. Published by the Associated Publishers, Washington, D. C. Price, with postage, \$2.15.

The amount of research shown in this book of Dr. Woodson's, gives us anew a sense of his painstaking industry. We did not realize that so many records could be gathered of a church that was only a group of ignorant by an unlettered preacher themselves. These Negro converts, Christian martyrs as truly as Wyckliffe and Huss, "were whipped until they stood in puddles of blood drawn by the lashes inflicted upon their bodies, while others, stricken down by heavy blows or subjected to mortal torture, went to their death rather than cease to bear witness for Jesus." By such as these, men whose voices could not be hushed, the Negro church was nurtured. And one reads with amazement of its growth, North and South, in the last hundred years.

Like so many histories, the early part of this book is the best. (There are those who say of Wells' "Outline of History," that it falls off when man comes on the scene.) The story of the early missionaries, white and black, are significant. In the West Indies, one learns that these preachers were popular with the slaveholders since they never taught the slave to expect freedom, but counseled him to keep the steady course of duty and not to offend against the laws of man. In the United States, however, the early Baptist and Methodist, preaching to black and white alike, attacked all evils, among them slavery. They

were not allowed to preach for long. The story of the Negro church as it developed out of the white church and grew in independence is told in much detail. It is not always an attractive story, there is bickering and jealousy and pompous intolerance. But there is always growth. One sees, too, the inevitableness of the break with the white denominations that first demanded acquiescence with slavery and later that the black accept the white South ideals regarding his status. The dig at the "philanthropist," Thomas Jesse Jones, who has helped many bootlicking Negroes into office, and who kept Max Yergan from going as a missionary to his own race in Africa, makes us realize why the Negro church has kept an eye always open with which to watch the sanctimonious whites.

In speaking of the schools and seminaries, started for the Negroes in the South, we learn that these Negro institutions which have separated and learned to supply their own needs have made a step far in advance of those dependent on the whites. "In this day, when the northern philanthropists are either withholding their donations to Negro schools or restricting them to Hampton or Tuskegee, it is difficult for some of these establishments (those connected with the whites) to eke out a subsistence, while the independent Negro schools, having had years of experience in developing a following, find their prospects growing brighter from year to year." Dr. Woodson quotes, among others, the National Training School for Girls, of which Miss Nannie Burroughs is the head, and the Virginia Theological Seminary and College under the direction of Dr. R. C. Woods.

I have been glad to notice that Dr.

Woodson does not use the colloquialism, "Rev. Jones," or whatever the name may be, but always says "the Rev. Mr. Jones." The use of reverend in place of mister was common at one time with both races but it is not used now, save perhaps in the far South, only by the colored.

The book has an excellent index and contains pictures of many colored clergymen of the past and of today.

NEGROES FOUND TO BE RACE CONSCIOUS

CHICAGO ILL NEWS
OCTOBER 6, 1922

Intellectual Isolation Leads to Peculiar Problems, Report States.

Negroes, although exposed to various forms of social contact, have been intellectually isolated from the white group and this has led to certain peculiar problems in race relationship, according to the recently issued report of the Chicago Race Commission, made up of leading citizens of both races. The report explains some misunderstandings from the fact that Negroes have not participated fully and freely in cultural and community activities.

"The pressure of the white group in practically every ordinary experience has kept their (the Negroes') attention and interest centered upon themselves, and they have become race conscious," the report states. "Their thinking, therefore, dependent upon law enforcement for security and comfort. Race riots, which involve race relations or not, is conditioned and largely controlled by the relation of these questions with group interests. The opinions of Negroes, therefore, on race relations are largely negative in number and more serious in consequences. A new note was sounded in radical Negro literature, which appeared to carry a very popular appeal.

Sentiments Are Similar.

"The sentiments of Negroes fall into somewhat the same classification as those of whites, but with one or two notable exceptions: there is (1) more discussion of race problems, more criticism of the conduct of leaders, more discussion of the practicability of pro-

grams of action; and (2) a great deal of literature and other expressions concerning the development of a defensive philosophy. In this latter are included various defensive policies, the stimulation of race pride, the explanation of behavior and the struggle for status. There might also be included frequent evidences of the development of race consciousness. The emotional background, class consciousness and the influences of group control are as evident in the sentiments of Negroes as of white persons.

"A wide selection of views was obtained from Negroes and presented under the classifications in which they appeared naturally to fall. They were asked concerning interracial problems; whether or not race relations appear to be growing better or worse; whether the acquisition of wealth or 100 per cent literacy, or unrestricted suffrage could affect race relations; they were asked questions concerning their adjustment to the present social system, their most pronounced mental complexes experienced in adjusting personal desires to the present social system; whether they were prejudiced against white persons. Concerning Negro problems they were asked whether or not there should be recognized leaders of Negroes; their criticisms of the policies of Negro leaders. Their racial philosophy was solicited. They were asked the distinction that they made between segregation and racial solidarity, and information was sought on the agencies responsible for their opinions. A most interesting array of views was secured, ranging from suspicion and abuse of the questions themselves to dispassionate analysis.

"The war has produced a new type of sentiment. It not only brought disappointment and disillusionment for Negroes led into a new hope by the promises that accompanied the manifest efforts to stimulate patriotism, but actually gave to Negroes new experiences. Following the return of Negro soldiers from France measures of restraint were increased and from the usual lawlessness of the period of reconstruction they probably suffered more severely than others because they are to a much larger extent dependent upon law enforcement for security and comfort. Race riots, which are an expression of both loose machine control and the development of a more determined resistance toward discrediting stories and standing beliefs concerning Negroes which have no basis in fact but which constantly serve to keep alive a spirit of mutual fear, distrust and opposition."

Negroes Badly Misjudged.

Negroes have been very badly misjudged by white public opinion, according to the report. A good illustration, frequently used by Negroes, is that if each time a crime was committed by a red-headed man he was so described in telling of his crime, a popular fear and prejudice would soon develop against all red-headed men.

A misrepresentation by the press was instanced in the case of a morning newspaper which carried a headline, "Reds Plot Negro Revolt," "I. W. W. Bomb Plant Found on South Side." One of the organizations accused was a free thought society and another was an employment office and day nursery, the report states.

The rumor that Negroes had been killed and thrown into Bubbly creek during the riots was found by the commission to be absolutely false.

"Three of the most important local Negro weekly papers were studied. Their news items showed bias in reporting just

the reverse of that which characterizes the reports of many white papers. They emphasize the Negro's view and may be said to provide a compensatory interpretation of the news.

"The most important function exercised by the Negro press is its control of the Negro group and of their education in conduct. All these papers give considerable space to such popular education."

Conclusions of Report..

Conclusions drawn at the end of the report are:

"That in seeking advice and information about Negroes, white persons almost without exception fail to select for their informants Negroes who are representative and can provide dependable information."

"That Negroes as a group are often judged by the manners, conduct and opinions of servants in families, or other Negroes whose general standing and training do not qualify them to be spokesmen of the group."

"That the principal literature regarding Negroes is based upon traditional opinions and does not always portray accurately the present status of the group."

"Most of the current beliefs concerning Negroes are traditional and were acquired during an earlier period when Negroes were considerably less intelligent and less responsible than now. Failure to change these opinions, in spite of the great progress of the Negro group, increases misunderstandings and the difficulties of mutual adjustment."

"That the common disposition to regard all Negroes as belonging to one homogeneous group is as great a mistake as to assume that all white persons are of the same class and kind."

"That much of the current literature and pseudo-scientific treatises concerning Negroes are responsible for such prevailing misconceptions as: that Negroes have inferior mentality; that Negroes have inferior morality; that Negroes are given to emotionalism; that Negroes have an innate tendency to commit crimes, especially sex crimes."

"We believe that such deviations from recognized standards as have been apparent among Negroes are due to circumstances of position rather than to distinct racial traits. We urge especially upon white persons to exert their efforts toward discrediting stories and standing beliefs concerning Negroes which have no basis in fact but which constantly serve to keep alive a spirit of mutual fear, distrust and opposition."

POUSHKIN AND DUMAS

SOME of us are prone to look upon writers like Alexander Poushkin and Dumas pere as not Negroes, but Africanized white men. This is a ridiculous fallacy. Dumas was a boy during the French revolution. He, during the height of his career, lived in an age of political reconstruction in France. In England at the same time Sir Walter Scott was "breathing the breath of life" into the old medieval characters of Scottish history. In France Dumas pere, whose father was a famous general in Napoleon's army, was resurrecting and putting fantastic touches to the characters of French history. Essentially a Frenchman, Dumas was quite ignorant of such a white elephant as the race question. Even today there are mulatto poets and novelists in Cuba and Latin America who very properly ignore the Negro problem. In some of his exquisite folktales Poushkin introduces Negro characters, as in "Peter the Great's Negro," for example. But in his best work, "Boris Godunoff," we do not recall having seen anything about the Negro.

At a time when so much is being said about Negro fiction it is well to note that fiction—that is, good fiction—must steer clear of propaganda. In his preface to "Batouala," Rene Maran speaks of the utter objectivity of his book, and also of a forthcoming work which he is at present engaged on and which will be entirely subjective. In other words, if he had tried to overwhelm the world with his ideas on the brutality of French rule in Equatorial Africa, there would have been no "Batouala." Still, if a Negro—paraphrasing Allen Wilson Porterfield—had written "Uncle Tom's Cabin," there is no telling where the race would be today.

BOOKS

By ERIC D. WALROND

J. W. Thinks Black. By Jas. S. Stowell. The Methodist Book Concern, New York. Pp. 179. Cloth, \$1.75, paper, \$1.50.

This little book, the second in the "John Wesley, Jr." series deals with the experiences of a layman in his work among the Negroes and gives some idea of what is being done along this line by the Methodist Episcopal Church. The reader was first introduced to J. W. and his friends in the volume entitled "John Wesley, Jr." and in this book the author tells more about their life and their efforts to promote the work of the church. In his travels John Wesley visits many interesting fields, and descriptions and photographs are given of several places and institutions where worth while work is being done among the Negro race.

In these columns two weeks ago I had the pleasure to review a book called "The Penitent," by Edna Worthley Underwood. On October 15 Isabel Paterson, in the New York Tribune, spoke very highly of it. She stressed its political significance and, as I expected, minimized it racially. She didn't even say in her two-column review that Pushkin was a Negro! In the New York Times Book Review Section of October 22 the book was also reviewed, and likewise nothing was said of the fact that Pushkin was a Negro.

This is nothing new. Some of us may not be willing to admit it, but there is and has been for years a journalistic conspiracy to suppress every ennobling fact about the Negro.

"THE BLACK BORDER"

Gullah Stories of Carolina Coast

9/24/22 REVISED BY H. E. HARMAN

Skirting the Georgia and Carolina coasts are numerous fertile islands, many of which before the war were under a high state of cultivation. This section likewise extended inland from the coast, including a considerable part of what is known as the "tide-water" section, above which, as an old saying goes, civilization did not extend.

On these islands and along this coastal littoral were located the extensive rice and cotton plantations of antebellum days. Here was centered wealth, culture and refinement as, perhaps, nowhere else in this country.

A large percentage of slaves brought to this section were what is known as the Gullah negroes, coming from the Liberian group of African tribes. Ambrose E. Gonzales, editor of The Columbia (S. C.) State,

early years of the last century," Mr. Gonzales says, "the importation of slaves was interdicted and the last Yankee slaver converted the last rum-bought slave into cash, then converting himself, he became an abolitionist and the well-known 'New England conscience' was developed.

These Gullah negroes have a peculiar dialect or language of their own, which, in spite of freedom and the circumstances surrounding it, they have preserved to a remarkable degree. On account of the extent of the plantations in slavery days these negroes did not come in contact with white people, and very little with other blacks—hence their language changed but little up to the war, and, in fact, has changed very little since.

This dialect of the Gullah is rich in "quaint and homely similes in which it abounds and is noted for the native wit and philosophy of its users."

The forty-two stories which Mr. Gonzales has told in "The Black Border" all deal with this strange language and with the habits, the philosophy and apt sayings of these people.

Mr. Gonzales is a good story-teller, and the average reader will find this book entirely away from the beaten path—something new—something original in the field of letters. This negro dialect is different from that of Thomas Nelson Page, Joel Chandler Harris and others, who have, in a way, immortalized the old-time negro and his quaint philosophy.

Mr. Gonzales has made a notable contribution to our southern literature, which places him among the best of our dialect story-tellers, and the book will, no doubt, be widely read. In it he has preserved a language which has been spoken, over a large area of our southern country, for more than a century, and which, but for "The Black Border," would in time be forgotten. The book contains a glossary compiled with great care, and which will aid the reader very much in understanding the language of these peculiar characters. "The Black Border" is published by The State company, Columbia, S. C.

has made a close study of these strange people, their peculiar language, and has just published "The Black Border," a most interesting volume, containing their history and some forty-odd stories illustrating their weird life and characteristic traits.

In his "Foreword," Mr. Gonzales tells how, "after the institution of slavery had become firmly established, the New England eye, not lacking in speculation, pocketing her prayer book," went forth on the prosperous adventure of dealing in African slaves. As the negro was not adapted to use in the north, the Yankee traders unloaded their cargoes of human freight on the southern planter at fabulous prices. The north became rich in the slave business, the south buying all she offered under supposed constitutional rights. "In the

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United States - Book Reviews

Schomburg Tears Carter Woodson

To Pieces for Historical Narrowness

negro world - 1-4-22 - new york

By ARTHUR A. SCHOMBURG

We expected, upon opening Dr. Carter Woodson's "The Negro in Our History," to find the treatment of the Negro in Africa from "a cursory examination" based on the people who were in touch with them—Iban Batuta, Leo Africanus, and Idrisi, and Dr. Barth's excellent works, not to mention others. His premises are not based on a careful examination and research of the sources, but rather on speculative opinion and finding of latter-day writers.

The people of Africa at one time were, according to certain records, such as to compel Dr. Woodson to reach a conclusion that they were largely of the mulatto type. Whereas, any one who has traveled extensively in Africa must reason against the author, for it appears that the masses of Africans must have been decidedly of pure black stock, becoming lighter by degree and time. "The Axumite or Abyssinians may always be distinguished from the original natives of Africa." Ludolph (Hist. l. i. c. 4) is of the opinion that "in the colony of Abyssinia race as well as climate must have contributed to form the Negroes of the adjacent and similar regions. The hand of nature has flattened the nose of the Negroes, covered their heads with shaggy wool, and tinged their skin with inherent and indelible blackness" (p. 150). The word culture is used with much freedom and looseness in the treatment of the movement of people in their relation to early civilizations. It is too big a subject to be condensed in a paragraph. Dr. Woodson would have us believe "Drawing no color line these Arabs blended readily with the Negroes and gave rise to the prominence of certain Arabised blacks represented by Antar" (p. 9). Gibbons in his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" relates that the believer in Mohammedanism has no scruple between his wives and the females attached to his harem. It is not a question of drawing lines but of religious belief and peculiar toleration of cult. A little further on the same page we find "Carrying their civilization later into Spain, the Africans attained distinction there also, for a Negro poet resided at Seville and in

1757 a Negro ... a town in lower Morocco." We know there was a famous Latin poet of Negro blood in the city of Granada by the name of Juan Latino who, born during 1515 in North Africa, was brought a slave to Spain, where his master Gonzalo de Cordova resided. To state that Latino resided in Seville is to put in the results of students' information which is incorrect. An examination of Antonio's Bibliography (p. 716), Ticknor's "History of Spanish Literature" (3 vol.), in Sevilla, and that laws and ordinances had been made about them. The Dr. Du Bois in "The Negro" (supra) says, "We find, for instance, in 1474, that Negroes were 'common' in Seville. Dr. Woodson goes one better on Dr. Du Bois when he said "they were so common." Neither Dr. Du Bois nor Dr. Woodson can show any right for adorning language at the expense of fact. Diego Ortiz de Zuniga in his able work only stated from the records that outside the small Negro village with its Roman Catholic Church and its brotherhood there was nothing to show that they were as common as we find them in Harlem. Sometimes paraphrasing is a dangerous thing.

The opening of the book dealing with Africa is unfortunately too fragmentary to give the reader a grasp on the early culture of that vast continent in whose bosom the most important vestiges of civilization is embodied in her many epochs of history. The book takes for granted opinions, whereas the historian should of necessity deal with naked facts.

"A man in need of labor purchases additional wives to supply that need, and a wife is usually worth so many cows. As very few slaves are required and there is often a scarcity of meats, cannibalism is practiced as the taste of human flesh does not differ materially from that of other animals" (p. 4).

It is unfortunate for a history in the form of a text book for school children to be marred by such improper statements. Can Dr. Woodson believe that the young mind should face the comparative remark that the taste of human flesh does not differ from other animals?

Dr. Woodson would have us believe that Negroes were "so common" in the city of Seville, Spain, in 1474, that Ferdinand and Isabella nominated a celebrated Negro, Juan de Valladolid, as the "Mayoral of the Negroes" in that city. The writer has quoted this as from W. E. B. Du Bois's "The Negro" (p. 146). As this is somewhat

misleading let us examine the source. Diego Ortiz de Zuniga, author of the "Ecclesiastical and Secular Annals of Sevilla, 1246-1671" (v. xii, 1475; p. 374), Madrid, 1677, gives us the transcript of the patent creating Valladolid a Negro Count. Arthur Helps in his excellent work "Spanish Conquest in America, etc." (v. i; p. 32), London, 1855, commenting on the case, says, "But the above merely shows that in the year 1474 there were many Negroes in Sevilla, and that laws and ordinances had been made about them." The Dr. Du Bois in "The Negro" (supra) says, "We find, for instance, in 1474, that Negroes were 'common' in Seville. Dr. Woodson goes one better on Dr. Du Bois when he said "they were so common." Neither Dr. Du Bois nor Dr. Woodson can show any right for adorning language at the expense of fact. Diego Ortiz de Zuniga in his able work only stated from the records that outside the small Negro village with its Roman Catholic Church and its brotherhood there was nothing to show that they were as common as we find them in Harlem. Sometimes paraphrasing is a dangerous thing.

Here we have another instance. It would have been more appropriate for the Doctor to have called the discoverer of the city of Cibola, Esteban, as his foot-note from Channing's history (p. 75, v. 1) proves, rather than for him to have dubbed him diminitively Estevanecito; even George Parker Winship, in his elaborate work on the "Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542," printed in the fourteenth annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology (p. 348), holds to the dignity of the proper name of "Esteban" (or Stephen).

Delving into the slavery of the West Indies, while he states that it "was most unfortunate" (p. 25), he says it can not be compared with the slavery of our own borders. For slavery in the West Indies was not carried out in a uniform system of cruelties; it was modified according to the government under whose control the island was subject. There was a great deal of religious toleration due to the tradition and customs of the nation involved. But Dr. Woodson, no doubt, while he is conversant with his Journal of Negro History, seems not to be acquainted with Baron de Humboldt's

"Travels to the Equatorial Regions of America" (3 vols.). It seems as if the statement is prompted by U. B. Phillips' "American Negro Slavery," but it is a matter of fact that the Latins did not practice interbreeding for the purpose of selling their own offspring in the market places. Calvin Fairbanks, in "How the Way Was Prepared" (18), was careful to relate the facts. They practiced miscegenation because the economic conditions existing in those days made possible the intimate relations with slaves. A peep into Coke's "Lectures on the Statute in the West Indies," Bryan Edwards' "West Indies" (5th edition), Southey's "Chronology of the West Indies" would have aided Dr. Woodson in his stimulated and definite understanding of the slavery of the West

feel like going into 340 omissions and palpable omissions and palpable enter into conflicting conclusions for a book seeking to enter the school room as a text-book with subject unsuited for the immature scholar in quest of positive information not after controversial arguments leading to endless discussion. For instance, we question the propriety of the sensitive treatment of miscegenation dealt by the author to place before school boys. We need not parade before their eyes the palpable sins of omission and commission for which we are, as a race, irresponsible. Perhaps Dr. Woodson forgot that Dr. W. C. Pennington, a runaway slave of Maryland, printed at Hartford in 1841 a "Text Book of the Origin of the Colored People." But why claim William C. Nell and William Wells as the "first actual historians of the race"? What proof is there that Denmark Vesey was born in St. Domingo, whereas it is known he was born in St. Thomas, Virgin Islands? Why didn't Rev. John Marran, who converted the Indians around the city of New York, receive that meed also he is entitled to in preference to good many living persons who are on the pages of the history?

For charitable appreciation for those who helped Dr. Woodson with rare plates, engravings, etc., would not have in any way harmed him in the preface. It is one of the few books lacking this feature of long-established custom.

The book is splendidly and profusely illustrated, but unfortunately out of tune with the rules of chronology. There is much information promiscuously scattered through the 342 pages for those who may want to read and enjoy the "dry bones of history."